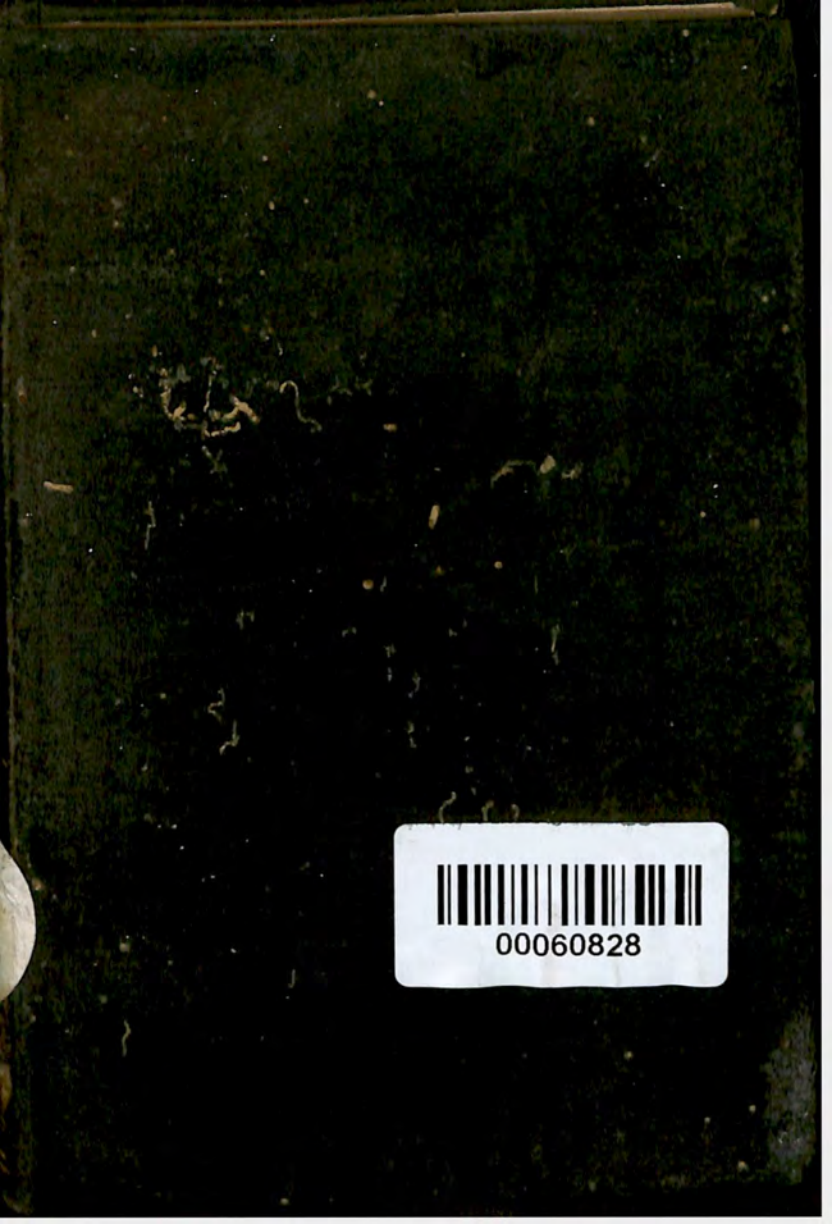
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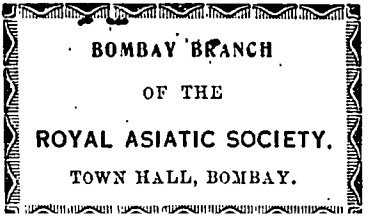

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NOTES OF A TRAVELLER,

ON THE

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STATE

OF

FRANCE, PRUSSIA, SWITZERLAND, ITALY,

AND OTHER PARTS OF EUROPE,

During the present Century.

BY SAMUEL LAING, ESQ.,

AUTHOR OF "A JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE IN NORWAY," AND OF "A TOUR IN SWEDEN."

First Series.

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LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.
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PREFACE.

THE changes produced by the French Revolution in the social economy of the European people are so extensive and important, reaching downwards to the very foundation of the former feudal structure of society, that History, it may be truly said, only begins for posterity with this century. The monarchical, aristocratical, and ecclesiastical elements of the former social economy of Europe, even property, law, power, have all been altered in relations, proportions, and intensity of influence; and the living of the generation which witnessed the commencement of the French Revolution have, in fifty years, been removed five hundred from the order of things previously established. The events and personages connected with this great convulsion will, no doubt, find their historian; but the alterations produced by it in the social structure and arrangements of almost every country, are scarcely noticed by our travellers and political writers, occupied with the more brilliant scenes or novelties of the age; and the future historian or philosopher may even want materials, notwithstanding all the literature of our days, for forming a just

estimate of the amount, nature, and tendencies of the changes effected, or in progress, during this half century, in the social economy of Europe. The Author of the following Notes has attempted in two preceding works—one on Norway,* and one on Sweden†—to collect materials on the social economy of those two countries, which, although distant from the centre of action, have not been beyond the reach of its disturbing force. This work is intended to be a continuation of the same attempt, to collect materials for the future historian or philosopher who shall endeavour to describe and estimate the new social elements in Europe which are springing up from, and covering the ashes of, the French Revolution.

* Journal of a Residence in Norway, by Samuel Laing. Longmans, London.

† A Tour in Sweden, by Samuel Laing. Longmans, London.

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CHAPTER I.

TRAVEL-WRITING.—HOLLAND.—THE SUBLIME IN SCENERY.—THE PICTURESQUE IN HOLLAND.—GARDEN HOUSES.—DECAY OF HOLLAND.—CAUSES.—MANUFACTURING STABILITY.—USEFUL ARTS.—FINE ARTS.—USEFUL AND FINE ARTS COMPARED.—THE POOR IN HOLLAND.—THE POOR IN MANUFACTURING TOWNS.—POOR COLONIES.—KINGLY POWER IN HOLLAND.—BELGIUM.—FEDERALISM.—UNION OF THE TWO COUNTRIES.—THE FEDERAL PRINCIPLE.

In the social state of the Continent, as it has settled itself since the great political and moral epoch of the French Revolution, there is a vast field to explore which has scarcely been looked at by our Continental travellers. No period since the introduction of Christianity will be considered by posterity of equal importance with this half of the nineteenth century—of equal influence in forming the future social and moral condition of the European people. All the great social influences, moral and physical, which have sprung up from the ashes of the French Revolution, and all the influences accumulating in prior times;—the diffusion of knowledge by the press; of sentiments of religious and civil freedom by the Reformation; of wealth, wellbeing, and political importance in the middle class, or those between the nobility and peasantry of the feudal ages, by trades, manufactures, and industry; the influence over all ranks of acquired tastes, and wants unknown to their forefathers; the influence of public opinion over the highest political affairs; and the influence of all the vast discoveries of the preceding 400 years, in navigation, science, and the useful arts;—are, in reality, only coming into full play and operation now, in this half century, upon the social state of Europe. The French Revolution was but the first act in the

great social drama. Travellers complain that travel-writing is overdone—that the Continent is exhausted of all its interest. Is it not possible that they themselves are blind to the great interests and influences which would attract the public mind; that they are continuing to feed the man with the panada and water-gruel of the child? In these our locomotive days, the hurried public has no leisure to sit listening to the traveller of the old school, piping the little song of his personal adventures in countries as familiar to their imaginations as the county of York. He pours his tale into a sleeping ear, if he has nothing to pour but his personal feelings and adventures, or his voracious doings on the tea and toast of the village inn: he is like a blind beggar trying to amuse the children of the deaf and dumb asylum with a tune on his fiddle.

I am an excellent travel-reader myself. I eat, drink, and sleep, for my part, with my traveller. I mourn with him, by land, over all the calamities of jolting roads, saucy landlords, scanty dinners, and dirty tablecloths; and am enchanted, at sea, with the gale, the calm, the distant sail, the piece of sea-weed floating past, the solitary sea-bird skimming round, and all the other memorabilia of a voyage across the Queensferry or the Atlantic. But this school of readers is almost extinct. The reading public of the present day labours under a literary dyspepsia, and has no appetite for the former ordinary fare. Diaries, journals, narratives, descriptions, feelings, and wisdom of the first quality, from every corner of the world, have so satiated the omnivorous reader, that results only, the concentrated essences of the traveller's observations, are in demand, not the detail of petty incidents by which they have been obtained; the sums total and products, not the items and units of his account current. This fastidiousness of the public taste places the traveller, especially in well-known lands, in an awkward dilemma. The little trivialties of travel, duly recorded as they occur, were very agreeable writing and reading; although they certainly mix very discordantly with statistical details, or speculations on political and social economy, which not only the philosopher, or the historian, but the ordinary reader of the present day, expects from the Continental traveller. These are not the results or observations of a single incident, or a single forenoon, or a single tour, and cannot, with any truth, be interwoven in his accounts of any one day or place. He is obliged to concentrate his observations for the sake of truth, and to meet the public taste; yet he runs the risk in doing so of pro-

ducing a work which will lull to sleep, not amuse the reader. The risk must be run. A great field of inquiry and observation on the Continent is open. The traveller may not be the most suitable literary labourer to explore it; but if his views should be narrow and incorrect, his conclusions ill founded or egregiously wrong, still they may be useful by inducing men of higher capacity to take the same path, to examine the same subjects, and discover what is right and well founded. In political philosophy the road to truth lies through error.

Holland, the land of cheese and butter, is to my eye no unpicturesque, uninteresting country. Flat it is; but it is so geometrically only, and in no other sense. Spires, church towers, bright farm-houses—their windows glancing in the sun, long rows of willow-trees—their bluish foliage ruffling up white in the breeze; grassy embankments of a tender vivid green, partly hiding the meadows behind, and crowded with glittering gaudily painted gigs, and stool waggons, loaded with rosy-cheeked laughing country girls, decked out in ribbons of many more colours than the rainbow, all astreaming in the wind;—these are the objects which strike the eye of the traveller from seaward, and form a gay front view of Holland, as he sails or steams along its coast and up its rivers. On shore, the long continuity of horizontal lines of country in the background, each line rising behind the other to a distant, level, unbroken horizon, gives the impressions of vastness and of novelty. It is curious how differently we are impressed by expansion in the horizontal and expansion in the perpendicular plane. Take a section of this country spread out horizontally before the eye, four miles or five in length, and one or two in breadth, and it is but a flat unimpressive plain. But elevate this small unimpressive parallelogram of land to an angle of sixty degrees with the horizon, and it becomes the most sublime of natural objects; it surpasses Mont Blanc—it is the side of Chimborazo. Set it on edge, and it would overwhelm the beholder with its sublimity. It would be the Hymalaya mountains cut down from their dizziest peak to the level of the ocean—a precipice so sublime, that the mind would shrink in terror from its very recollection. Now why does this section of land, which would be but a small portion of the extent of flat plain under the eye at once from any little elevation, such as a dyke or a church tower, in this country, pass from the unimpressive through the beautiful, the grand, and to the utmost sublime by mathematical steps, one may say, and according to its angle of elevation?

The only solution of this fact in the sublimity of natural objects is, that terror is not, as has been assumed by Burke and our greatest philosophers, the cause of the impression of sublimity in the human mind. Terror must be the effect of the sublime; not its cause, source, or principle. In this supposed instance of the sublime in nature, power is evidently the cause of that impression,—the intuitive mental perception that great unknown power has been exerted to produce this sublime object. It is the feeling, or impression, of this vast power, which produces that feeling of terror allied with and considered the cause, although in reality only the effect, of the sublime. This impression of power, received from any great and rare deviation from the usual, makes the perpendicular more sublime than the horizontal, the Gothic cathedral than the Grecian temple, the mountain than the plain, the cataract than the lake, the storm than the calm. Unusual vastness, such as the great extent of flat country seen from any of the church towers in Holland, is also an expression of power, and is not without its grandeur; but it never reaches the sublime, because the mind, accustomed to the sight of extension developed horizontally, perceives not the principle of power in it at once. This sentiment of power may possibly have something to do even with our impression of the beautiful in natural objects. The waved line—Hogarth's line of beauty—is agreeable, and the angular, broken, or jagged line, the contrary; because the one expresses a continuity of power in its formation—the other a disturbance, or break, in the action of the forming power. The latter would reach the sublime, if the disturbance, or break, were on a great scale, indicating vastness of power.

Holland can boast of nothing sublime; but for picturesque foregrounds—for close, compact, snug home scenery, with every thing in harmony, and stamped with one strong peculiar character, Holland is a cabinet picture, in which nature and art join to produce one impression, one homogeneous effect. The Dutch cottage, with its glistening brick walls, white painted wood-work and rails, and its massive roof of thatch, with the stork clappering to her young on her old-established nest on the top of the gable, is admirably in place and keeping, just where it is—at the turn of the canal, shut in by a screen of willow-trees, or tall reeds, from seeing, or being seen, beyond the sunny bight of the still calm water, in which its every tint and part is brightly repeated. Then the peculiar character of every article of the household furniture, which the Dutch built house-mother

is scouring on the green before the door so industriously; the Dutch character impressed on every thing Dutch, and intuitively recognised, like the Jewish or Gipsy countenance, wherever it is met with; the people, their dwellings, and all in or about them —their very movements in accordance with this style or character, and all bearing its impress strongly—make this Holland, to my eye, no dull unimpressive land. There is soul in all you see; the strongly marked character about every thing Dutch pleases intellectually, as much as beauty of form itself. What else is the charm so universally felt, requiring so little to be acquired, of the paintings of the Dutch school? The objects or scenes painted are neither graceful, nor beautiful, nor sublime; but they are Dutch. They have a strongly marked mind and character impressed on them, and expressed by them; and every accompaniment in the picture has the same, and harmonises with all around it.

The Hollander has a decided taste for the romantic: great amateurs are the Mynheers of the rural. Every Dutchman above the necessity of working to-day for the bread of to-morrow, has his garden-house (Buyteplaats) in the suburbs of his town (for the Dutch population lives very much in towns surrounded by wet ditches), and repairs to it on Saturday evening with his family, to ruralise until Monday over his pipe of tobacco. Dirk Hatterick, we are told in Guy Mannering, did so. It is the main extravagance of the Dutch middle-class man, and it is often an expensive one. This garden-house is a wooden box gaily painted, of eight or ten feet square; its name, "My Delight," or "Rural Felicity," or "Sweet Solitude," stuck up in gilt tin letters on the front; and situated usually at the end of a narrow slip of ground, inclosed on three sides with well-trimmed hedges and slimy ditches, and overhanging the canal, which forms the boundary of the garden plot on its fourth side. The slip of land is laid out in flower-beds, all the flowers in one bed being generally of one kind and colour; and the brilliancy of these large masses of flowers—the white and green paint-work, and the gilding about the garden-houses—and a row of those glittering, fairy summer lodges, shining in the sun, upon the side of the wide canal, and swimming in humid brilliancy in the midst of plots and parterres of splendid flowers, and with the accompaniments of gaily dressed ladies at the windows, swiftly passing pleasure boats with bright burnished sides below, and a whole city population afloat, or on foot, enjoying themselves in

their holyday clothes—form, in truth, a summer evening scene which one dwells upon with much delight. I pity the taste which can stop to inquire if all this human enjoyment be in good taste or bad taste, vulgar or refined. I stuff my pipe, hire a boatman to row me in his schuytje up the canal to a tea garden, and pass the evening as Dutchly and happily as my fellow-men.

Holland is the land of the chivalry of the middle classes. Here they may say in honest pride, to the hereditary lords and nobles of the earth in the other countries of Europe, See, what we grocers, fishcurers, and shipowners have done in days of yore, in this little country! But, alas! this glory is faded. In the deserted streets of Delft, and Leyden, and Haarlem, the grass is growing through the seams of the brick pavements; the ragged petticoat flutters in the wind out of the drawing-room casement of a palace; the echo of wooden shoes clattering through empty saloons tells of past magnificence—of actual indigence. This has been a land of warlike deed, of high and independent feeling; the home of patriots, of heroes, of scholars, of philosophers, of men of science, of artists, of the persecuted for religious or political opinions from every country, and of the generous spirits who patronised and protected them. Why is the Holland of our times no longer that old Holland of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Why are her streets silent, her canals green with undisturbed slime?

The greatness of Holland was founded upon commercial prosperity and capital, not upon productive industry.* Her capital and industry were not employed in producing what ministers to human wants and gratifications; but in transmitting what other countries produced or manufactured, from one country to another. She was their broker. When their capitals, applied at first more beneficially to productive industry, had grown

* The herring fishery of Holland has usually been represented as the branch of productive industry from which her wealth was drawn. Amsterdam is founded, we are told, on herring bones. Sir William Temple, and all political economists since his day, have indulged in gross exaggerations of the importance and value of this branch of productive industry; and our government has scarcely yet thrown off the mania of legislating, by bounties, boards, and regulations, for an unnatural extension of the British herring fishery—unnatural because it is production beyond consumption, and is forced by bounties beyond the demand for the article. The following is the present state of the Dutch herring fishery; viz. In 1841—

large enough to enter also into the business of circulation, as well as into that of production—into commerce, properly so called—the prosperity of Holland, founded upon commerce alone, unsupported by a basis of productive industry within herself, and among the mass of her own population, fell to the ground. This is the history of Holland. It speaks an important lesson to nations.

The world has witnessed the decline of commercial greatness in Venice, in Genoa, in Florence, in the Hans Towns, in Holland, —of military greatness in Rome, France, Sweden, Prussia; but has yet to learn whether productive greatness, that which is

Flardingen has	fitted	out	79	busses.
Delfshaven	-	-	2	—
Zwartwaal	-	-	4	—
Mittelhaus	-	-	2	—
Schevening	-	-	1	—
Pirnis	-	-	1	—
Schiedam	-	-	1	—
Maassluys	-	-	16	—
Enkhuyzen	-	-	4	—
Rip	-	-	6	—
Amsterdam	-	-	7	—
	Total		123	

Now suppose each buss to stow 400 barrels—and they are not vessels which can stow more, being small and lumbered with their nets and provisions—and suppose each to make two trips, and to be a full ship each trip; this outfit will produce, after all, only 98,400 barrels of herrings, or about one half of the quantity usually cured in the county of Caithness. We have no reason to suppose that the real effective market for herrings was ever more extensive than it is now. By dint of bounties, no doubt, the Dutch may have sent out more busses, and cured more fish formerly; but if this increased production was forced beyond the demand and consumption, and the loss made good by the bounty to the producer, which is precisely the working of our bounty system in all things as well as in herrings, the country was no gainer by this surplus of production beyond a consumption at a reproductive price. Suppose, in the highest state of prosperity of the Dutch herring fishery, that they had the number of busses at sea which flourish before our eyes in the pamphlets innumerable on the Dutch herring fishery—say that they had 600 or 800, say 1200 sail in any one year, and all full ships; this gives us but 960,000 barrels of herrings, worth about as many pounds sterling. This is probably one-third more of this kind of food than all the markets, including the Russian and West Indian, ever consumed in one year; but throw it all to the credit of the Dutch herring fishery as clear gain, still it is no great item of national wealth and production. It is at best a small thing magnified by bounty-fishers into a source of great national wealth.

founded upon the manufacturing industry of a people in all the useful arts, be equally fleeting. It seems to rest upon principles in political philosophy of a more stable nature. It is more bound to soil and locality by natural circumstances. The useful metals, coals, fire-power, water-power, harbours, easy transport by sea and land, a climate favourable to out-door labour in winter and summer, are advantages peculiar to certain districts of the earth, and are not to be forced by the power of capital into new localities. Markets may be established any where, but not manufactures. Human character also, in the large, is formed by human employment, and is only removable with it. The busy, active, industrious spirit of a population trained to quick work, and energetic exertion of every power, in the competition of a manufacturing country, is an unchangeable moral element in its national prosperity, founded upon productive industry. Look at an Englishman at his work, and at one of these Dutchmen, or at any other European man. It is no exaggeration to say, that one million of our working men do more work in a twelvemonth, act more, think more, get through more, produce more, live more as active beings in this world, than any three millions in Europe, in the same space of time; and in this sense I hold it to be no vulgar exaggeration, that the Englishman is equal to three or to four of the men of any other country. Transplant these men to England; and under the same impulse to exertion, and expeditious working habits, which quickens the English working class, they also would exceed their countrymen at home in productiveness. It is not in the human animal, but in the circumstances in which he is placed, that this most important element of national prosperity, this general habit of quick, energetic, persevering activity, resides; and these circumstances, formed by nature, are not to be forced into any country, independently of natural agency, by mere dint of capital.

How little the mass of the people of the Seven United Provinces, the boors or peasants, or even the burgesses of the middle and lower classes, had been acted upon by the wealth and prosperity of the commercial class in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, may be seen in their dwellings, furniture, clothing, and enjoyments and habits of civilized life. These are all of the make, material, and age prior to the rise of the opulence and power of Holland—of the age of Queen Elizabeth—and have remained, unchanged and unimproved, until that power and opulence have fallen again to the level from which they rose.

A commercial class, an aristocracy of capitalists, numerous perhaps as a moneyed body, but nothing as a national mass, were alone acted upon by this commercial prosperity; and when trade gradually removed to other countries, the Dutch capitalist, without changing his domicile, easily transferred his capital to where the use of it was wanted and profitable. Holland remains a country full of capitalists and paupers; her wealth giving little employment, comparatively, to her own population in productive industry, and adding little to their prosperity, wellbeing, and habits of activity in producing and enjoying the objects of civilised life.

The difference of national mind, or character, in countries of which the wealth rests upon commerce, from that where it rests upon productive industry, is curiously brought out in the difference of their application to, and estimation of, the fine arts. In Italy and in Holland, the social condition of great commercial wealth, with comparatively little employment given by it to the mass of the people, called into existence painters, sculptors, architects; furnished artists, and encouragement for them—that is, demand and taste for their works. It was the main outlet for the activity of the public mind, and for the excess of capital beyond what could be profitably engaged in commerce. But a national mind formed, like that of the English people, in the school of productive industry, seeks the shadow at least of utility, even in its most extravagant gratifications. Horses, hounds, carriages, a seat in parliament, yachts, gardens, pet-farms, are the objects in which great wealth in England indulges, much more frequently than in grand palaces, fine jewels, valuable paintings, delightful music, or other tastes connected with the fine arts. The turn of the public mind is decidedly towards the useful arts, for which all, high and low, have a taste differing not so much in kind, as in the means and scale of its gratification. Capital can be so much more extensively employed in reproduction in the useful arts, where a whole population has a taste for, and consumes their objects, that the excess to be invested in objects of the fine arts is surprisingly small in England, considering the vast amount and diffusion of her wealth. What is not useful, at least in appearance, is but lightly esteemed as an expenditure of money. A duke and his shoemaker, or tailor, or tenant, have precisely the same tastes, lay out their excess of capital in objects of the same nature, in gratifications of the same kind; differing only in

cost, not in principle. Look, in England, into the tradesman's parlour, kitchen, garden, stable, way of living, amusements, and modes of gratification—all is in the same taste as the nobleman's: the same principle of utility runs through all. The cultivated or acquired tastes for the fine arts, for music, painting, sculpture, architecture, are little, if at all, more developed among the higher or wealthier classes, than among the middle or lower classes. England at this day, with ten thousand times the wealth, furnishes no such demand for, and supply of objects of the fine arts, as Florence, Genoa, or Holland did, in the days of their prosperity. Is this peculiar development of the national mind of the English people, this low appreciation and small social influence of the fine arts compared to the useful, among them, matter of just regret, as many amateurs consider it; or is it matter of just and enlightened exultation, that our social condition has advanced so far beyond that of any civilized people who have preceded us, that the tastes and gratifications which the few only of great wealth and great station in a community can cultivate and enjoy, are as nothing in the mass of intellectual and bodily employment which the many give, by the demands upon intellect, and industry, for their gratifications?

What, after all, is the real value, in the social condition of man, of the fine arts? Are they not too highly estimated—raised by prejudices inherited from a period of intellectual culture far behind our own, into a false importance? Do they contribute to the wellbeing, civilisation, and intellectuality of mankind, as much as the cultivation of the useful arts? Do they call into activity higher mental powers, or more of the moral qualities of human nature, than the useful arts? Is the painter, the sculptor, the musician, the theatrical performer, generally a more cultivated, more intellectual, more moral member of society, a man approaching nearer to the highest end and perfection of human nature, than the engineer, the mechanician, the manufacturer? Is Rome, the seat of the fine arts, upon a higher, or so high a grade, in all that distinguishes a civilized community, as Glasgow, Manchester, or Birmingham, —the seats of the useful arts? Are Scotland and the United States of America—without a good picture, a good statue, or a good palace within their bounds, and without more taste, feeling or knowledge in the fine arts, among the mass of the people, than among so many New Zealanders—very far below Italy, or Bavaria, with their fine arts, tastes, and artists, as moral and

intellectual communities of civilized men? Is a picture, a statue, or a building, so high an effort of the human powers, intellectual and physical, as a ship, a foundery, a cotton-mill, with all their complicated machineries and combinations? We give, in reality, an undue importance to the fine arts—reckon them important because they minister to the gratification, and are among the legitimate and proper enjoyments of kings and important personages; but, like the military profession, or the servile employments about a royal court, their importance is derivative only—is founded on prejudice or fashion, not on sound philosophic grounds. If the exercise of mental and physical power over inert matter for the advantage of man—if moral and physical improvement in our social condition be the standards by which the importance of human action and production should, in reason, be measured, (and to what other standard can they be applied?) the fine arts may descend from the pedestals on which the court literature of the age of Louis XIV. had placed them in France, and in the little imitative German courts, and range themselves in the rear of the modern applications of science and genius to the useful arts. Raffaelle, Michael Angelo, Canova—immortal artists! sublime producers! what are ye in the sober estimation of reason? The Arkwrights, the Watts, the Davys, the thousands of scientific inventors and producers in the useful arts, in our age, must rank before you, as wielders of great intellectual powers for great social good. The exponent of the civilisation, and intellectual and social progress of man, is not a statue, but a steam-engine. The lisping amateur hopping about the saloons of the great, may prattle of taste, and refined feeling in music, sculpture, painting, as humanising influences in society, as effective means and distinguishing proofs of the diffusion of civilisation among mankind; but the plain, undeniable, knock-me down truth is, that the Glasgow manufacturer, whose printed cotton handkerchiefs the traveller Landers found adorning the woolly heads of negresses far in the interior of Africa, who had never seen a white human face, has done more for civilisation, has extended humanising influences more widely, than all the painters, sculptors, architects, and musicians of our age put together. Monstrous Vandalism, but true!

The Dutch are mostly caged in half-empty large towns, or villages. To live a town life in the country, or a country life in the town is the most insipid and unsatisfactory of all ways of passsing

life. Except in pictures, and in the novelty and character of their home-scenery, which is often a Dutch picture in real, Holland and its inhabitants are, in fact, not attractive. The climate is damp, raw, and cold for eight months; hot and unwholesome for four. The Dutch people, eminently charitable and benevolent as a public, their country full of beneficent institutions admirably conducted and munificently supported, are as individuals somewhat rough, hard, and, although it be uncharitable to say so, uncharitable and unfeeling. We have, too, at home, our excellent benevolent men, who will subscribe their sovereign, or their twenty, to an hospital, house of refuge, or missionary or charitable society for the relief or instruction of the poor; but on principle withhold their penny from the shivering female on their door-steps, imploring alms for the pale, sickly infant in her arms. They are right on principle and consideration, quite right; but one is not particularly in love with such quite right people. The instinct of benevolence in the heart is worth a whole theory of such political economy in the head. Here, in Holland, the privations and misery of the poor are necessarily very severe, the labouring class having very little agricultural work to turn to, as the land is mostly under old grass for dairy husbandry; and even the inclosures, being wet ditches, not hedges or walls, require few annual repairs; no manufacturing employment of any consequence, and, in fact, no work, except the transport of goods from the seaports to the interior. Fuel, too, that greatest item next to food in a poor man's comfort, is scarce and dear, being principally of peat-mud scooped out of the bogs in the interior of the country, and baked in the sun like bricks. The centre of the province of Holland is excavated like a great lagoon, by the extraction of peat for ages. A small earthen dish of live embers, inclosed in a perforated wooden box, is carried about by the women of the poor, and even of the middle class; and when they sit down to work, is put under their petticoats, and is the principal firing in the winter life of the poor female. The effect of the scarcity of fuel, or of the economy of it, in the Dutch household, is visible in the usual costume of the working and middle classes. The proverbial multiplicity of the Dutchman's integuments of his nether man, and the tier above tier of petticoat which makes his bulky frow a first-rate under sail, are effects of the dearness of fuel in a raw, cold, damp clime.

In our manufacturing towns, the poor, however badly off,

have more advantages in fuel, lodging, and occasional work produced by manufacturing establishments, than in towns of greater wealth arising from commerce, or from the fixed incomes of capitalists, landholders, and public functionaries. Edinburgh, for instance, is not a seat of manufactures. We see a wealthy or well-off upper class in it; a thriving, well-to-do middle class, living by their expenditure; and the class below, living by the family work and handicrafts required by the other two, not very ill off either; but dive to the bottom of society even in Edinburgh, where fuel and fish are cheap, and land work and building work not scarce, but on the contrary taking off much common labour at all seasons, you find the surplus of the labouring class, beyond what the other two classes regularly employ, in extreme distress from the want of manufactures on a great scale circulating employment around them. Now, Holland is just one such great city spread over a small country; and not a manufacturing city, but such a city of capitalists and of middle-class people living by their expenditure, but affording no labour to the lowest class—nothing but city work, as tradesmen, family servants, and porters, seamen, or bargemen. The two upper classes, and those they employ of the lower class, may be well enough off; but such employment is stationary, has no principle of an increase in it keeping pace, in some degree, with the growth of population; and the surplus who cannot find work in such a social body, is more wretched than in any other land.

After the peace of 1816, Holland was among the first countries in Europe that was obliged to grapple with a pauperism which threatened to subvert all social arrangements. She established poor colonies on some of the barren, sandy tracts of back country, above and behind the rich alluvial delta of the Rhine and Scheldt. In 1821, when Holland and Belgium united in one monarchy, were recovering from the unsettled idle state in which countries exposed to the agitations and vicissitudes of war are kept—and which is the greatest evil of war—the total population of the two was 5,715,347; and of these 753,218 persons, or 1 person nearly in every 7½ of the population, was supported by public charity. The proportion of this pauperism which belonged to Holland and Belgium, severally, is not mentioned; but from the very different social state of the two populations—that of Holland altogether commercial and agricultural, that of Belgium manufacturing as well as agricultural, and scarcely at all commercial

—it would have been interesting to have seen distinctly the effects of pauperism on the two distinct elements, commercial activity and manufacturing industry. The total pauperism appears to have exceeded, in 1821, the highest proportion of the population of England that was ever supported, wholly or in part, by poor rate. It is generally understood that 1 in 8 of the population was the greatest proportion in England, when poor rates were under no regulation, that ever received parochial relief. The rich alluvial delta which the Scheldt, the Rhine, with its branches, the Maese, the Waal, the Yssel, and many smaller waters, form around the great inlets of the sea, the Biesbos, the Zuyder Zee, and the Dollert, are bounded on the land side by a frame of barren sandy ground of very little elevation above the rich land—the richest soil, perhaps, to be found north of the Alps —which it adjoins, but of very different fertility. A stunted heath growing from a thin covering of peat earth which hides only in patches the rough sand and gravel, is the principal natural vegetation. In some spots, the pine exists rather than flourishes, and shallow pools are found in the hollows which have any soil in the bottom sufficiently tenacious to retain the rain-water. Unpromising as this land may appear for agricultural purposes, there is good reason for supposing that some of the best tracts of Flanders, and which now are the most fertile in the north of Europe, have originally been of the same quality. About Breda, and in many other districts, spots of the original land, untouched as yet by cultivation, remain visible as an encouragement to industry. But it is not an individual, nor a generation, that can reclaim a barren waste with advantage. Yet it may be done by the labour of many successive generations, applied without intermission to the same spot. Such improvement carries no profit with it. Capital is thrown away, and labour is not repaid for many generations, unless a scanty subsistence from the soil be a repayment for the labour of cultivating it. Yet, if the land be the labourer's own, he will put up with that recompense. Each succeeding generation is better off, by the gradual improvement of the soil from continued cultivation. The foot of man itself leaves fertility behind it; and the poorest inhabited spot is always superior to the waste around it, and always in proportion to the length of time it has been used. The basis of this improvement of the uncultivated land of a country is undoubtedly population settled as proprietors, and working on small garden-like portions, from generation to generation. Large

operations with outlay of capital, and hired labour, and the system of large farming, rarely succeed in reclaiming land, and still more rarely afford a real profit, even when attempted on single fields adjoining a cultivated large farm. The first operation in reclaiming land from a state of nature, is certainly to plant it with men.

The Dutch began, in 1818, to plant poor colonies in the barren tract behind the Zuyder Zee. A society of subscribers to a fund for the diminution of pauperism, aided by assistance from government, purchased an estate near Steenwyk, a small town in that tract of country, and commenced a poor colony, called Frederics-oort, with fifty-two families sent from different parishes which had subscribed to the fund. The whole cost 56,000 florins, or about £4650 sterling, and its extent was about 1200 acres, of which about 200 had been cultivated, or at least laid into the shape of fields. The poor quality of the land may be imagined from its price. Each family, consisting on an average of six persons of all ages, and settled on an allotment of seven acres, was found to cost in outfit, including the expense of their house, furniture, food, and seed for one year, clothing, flax, and wool for their spinning, land for their cultivating, and two cows, about 1700 florins, or £141, 10s. sterling; and in sixteen years the colonist was expected to repay this advance by the surplus production of his labour, besides maintaining his family. A strict system of co-operative and coercive labour, under discipline as in a penal workhouse, was established. The colonist worked by the piece under inspection of overseers, was paid by a ticket according to fixed rates for the different kinds of work, and the ticket was good for rations of food, or stores, at the shop or magazine of the society, delivered at fixed and moderate prices. The allotment of land was to become ultimately the colonist's own property when he had cleared the 1700 florins of advance; and, by good conduct and industry, he could obtain various indulgences and encouragements during the sixteen years which were required to clear that sum, according to the calculations of the society. The founder of this establishment was a Dutch officer, General Van der Bosh, who had seen in the East Indies, among the Chinese settlers in Java, the great agricultural results from the co-operative labour of small proprietors of land. With the people he had to deal—the paupers of town populations, with vice and idleness, as well as want and misery, in their social composition—he had to establish the arrangements and discipline, both as to rewards and punish-

ments, of a penal colony. Constant employment under overseers was the fundamental law. The free proprietorship of the land at the end of sixteen years was the ultimate reward; and medals for good conduct, and indulgences in the liberty of going about, were minor intermediate rewards. The punishments were confinement and hard labour in a small town called Omme Schantz. The parishes which subscribed to the funds of the society 5100 guilders, or £425, had the privilege of sending three families or housekeepings, two of them consisting of six grown persons each, and the third of six orphans, or foundlings, not under six years of age, and a married couple with them to manage for the children. For the maintenance of each child, 60 guilders, or £5, was to be paid yearly. It appears that, in 1826, the poor colony at Wortel, near Antwerp, established on the same plan, contained 125 farms, and the managers of it had contracted to take 1000 paupers for 16 years, at 35 guilders, or 58*s.* 4*d.* sterling, per head yearly. In all, 20,000 persons were reckoned in 1826 in these poor colonies of Frederics-oort and Wortel.

The separation of Holland and Belgium was of course unfavourable to the progress of this great experiment on pauperism. I found, on visiting the pauper colony of Wortel, in 1841, that not one colonist had prospered so far as to repay the advance, according to the prospectus given out at its establishment in 1822; and that of 125 farms in cultivation in 1823, and 1000 paupers contracted for, only 21 families are now remaining. It may be thonght that this Belgian division of the great experiment on pauperism, is scarcely to be taken as a fair example of its feasibility, because it has not received from the present Belgian government the same fostering aid and encouragement as it did, and as that of Frederics-oort still does from the former Dutch government, the scheme having been specially favoured and cherished by the late or ex-king of Holland.

But his schemes were not always the most judicious. This establishment at Wortel had the advantage of four years' experience of the system as carried on at Frederics-oort, which was established in 1818; it had the advantage of being established by Captain Van der Bosh, the son of the original proposer; it had the advantage, if any, of all the government aid from 1822 till the separation of Belgium and Holland; and it has since had the real, and, for the political economist, much greater advantage, of having been left by government to its own resources, to the efficacy of its own principles. It has proved a failure: the colo-

nists who remain are, however, very far above pauperism. Their crops, houses, clothing, indicate very considerable prosperity; but a good house which cost forty pounds sterling, seven acres of land, very barren to be sure, being mere sandy heath, but still capable of improvement, and requiring no draining, or clearing of rocks, roots, trees, or obstructions, are data upon which a pauper may well become rich for his station, if work also be found him for four days in the week, and paid for in rations of food, or in stores, and the other two days allowed him for working upon his own rent-free land. The question is, whether the work found for him by the public pays its cost, the wages paid for it either in rations of food, or in stores. The work consists in planting or cutting down trees; in fencing and preparing land for cultivation; in cultivating the land which, in part at least, is to furnish the paupers themselves with rations for their own subsistence; and also as in-door employment, in spinning, weaving, and manufacturing all that is used, or issued in the colony. Poor-rate and workhouse labour applied in this way is undoubtedly a better general system, than if they are applied to the supply of the ordinary markets of a country, with the same articles which give employment to the classes who are but just one step above pauperism. If every workhouse or poorhouse in the kingdom maintained itself by the value and sale of the work of its inmates, in shoemaking, weaving, rope-making, and such ordinary crafts as are carried on in workhouses, the system would just drive so much unaided, independent industry, into the poor-house: for the single unaided tradesman, with house-rent, fuel, light, cost of raw materials of his product, and risk of its sale, all against him, could not stand against the competition of such assisted pauper-work. It is a wise principle, therefore, and in so far this pauper colony has been well considered, to apply pauper or penal labour only to the production of what the pauper or convict establishment consumes within itself. In the same barren tract of sandy heath in which the pauper colony of Wortel is established, there is a penal colony of about 600 convicts. They are worked under overseers, like all convict gangs, but in farm work, and producing their own necessaries, and they thus raise some portion, at least, of their own food and clothing. It does not appear that escape is frequent; and classification by separate working gangs, in this out-door work, of which all are capable, may be obtained without seclusion.

The crops of rye, clover, flax, potatoes, buckwheat, raised on

this barren land, both in the penal and in the pauper colony at Wortel, are very fine; and when one sees the miserable, sandy, sterile heath land, out of which these fertile spots have been created, foot by foot, as it were, by the most minute labour, and the most careful manuring, the ultimate failure with us of almost every attempt to bring such barren wastes into fertility, by grand applications of labour and capital to a large area at once, is easily accounted for. The repetition of work on the same spot, the exposure of it by repeated turnings to the influence of the atmosphere, the admixture of manure almost by hand, with every particle of the raw, barren soil, are operations which even capital cannot command, and which hired work upon the large scale cannot profitably accomplish. It is the time only, and that time not valued, of the small proprietor, which can fertilise, bit by bit, such land. It is, in one view, certainly not a profitable application of time and labour. They are not repaid in money or other value within any moderate time. In another view, it is profitable; the man who would be a pauper, feeds himself by his time and labour, and adds a little, however little, to the perpetual productiveness of his little farm.

This land of flowers and of frogs is marvellously ill-adapted for the bed of royalty. Kingly government, a court, and nobility, are not in harmony with the character, habits, tastes, manners, ways of thinking and living, and established social economy of this commercial, counting-house population who for ages have been strangers to conventional rank and influence, either hereditary, military, or literary, or to any other social distinction than what a man acquires for himself on 'Change. Such property and influence are too variable in society to be a secure basis for kingly power. They owe nothing to it. Competition, disunion, and change, enter also more into them than into the element of landed property, which seems to be the only stable basis for monarchical government. Men who have acquired their own personal property and social weight, submit unwillingly to irresponsible royal management; and a public bred, individually, to guide their own affairs, will not sit passive, and see them guided by a king and cabinet. They scrutinise too rigidly, perhaps, the royal doings, and have too little respect for royal dignity. The ex-king of Holland landed at Schevening, in 1813, with his portmanteau, and a bunch of orange ribands at his breast. His majesty retired from business in 1841, the richest individual in Europe, worth, it is said, above twenty millions of pounds sterling.

The recognition by law of 14th May, 1814, of all the old and forgotten state debts or obligations of Holland, was the origin of this enormous wealth. These old state paper debts were considered to be as worthless as the assignats of the French Republic, and until their acknowledgment in 1814, were sold for a small value. By the stock-jobbing with the syndicats for paying off these state obligations from 1822-1830, and by the establishment of the Bank of Brussels, of which his majesty was a principal stockholder, immense sums were gained. Besides, the exclusive management of the revenues of the East India colonies, without any obligation to render accounts of it, was, by a questionable interpretation of the 60th article of the Ground Law of the kingdom of the Netherlands, held to belong to, and was exercised by, the sovereign. In a trading country like Holland, and an exhausted country with a population of only 2,700,000 people, and a debt of 1129 millions of guilders bearing interest, and of 316 millions of old debt gradually to be redeemed, in short with a taxation which cannot be pushed above 52½ millions, and a yearly expenditure of 72,183,500 guilders to provide for; the accumulation of wealth of such an enormous amount by the head of the state, as a private man, is looked upon with no very dutiful eye. It cannot be concealed, that the monarchical principle has been seriously injured in Holland, Sweden, and France, by the money-making, stock-jobbing propensities of the sovereigns. A king, in these censorious times, cannot turn an honest penny in trade, or stock-jobbing, like another man, without losing that isolation from all private interests and feelings which is the essential in the royal position, and the main support of the monarchical principle in the human mind. In many branches of trade "one man's gain is another man's loss," according to the apprehension of the public; and where this relation steps in between king and people—the king the gainer, the people the loser—the prestige of loyalty to the millionnaire-monarch is gone. He is but a Rothschild on the throne. In Holland, where material interests have long been predominant, and are well understood, the successful application of their ex-king to his private material interests has not added to the real power or stability of the throne.

The total separation of Holland and Belgium was a false step for the welfare of both. They should have divorced each other, the two little countries, from bed and board only. The one country is necessary to the other, and neither has the means to support a distinct housekeeping. Holland has capital, commerce,

and magnificent colonies, but has nothing of her own manufacturing to send to her colonies, no productions of her own industry to exchange with their industry, no commerce in any products of her own. Belgium has manufacturing industry, and the raw materials on which it works, coal-fields, iron-works, and many productive capabilities; but has no colonies, no outlets, no markets, no ships, no commerce. With the Prussian manufacturing provinces on the land side, England on the sea side, and no shipping or seaports but two, Antwerp and Ostend, and no free river trade even to the consumers on the continent behind her, Belgium is like the rich man in the fable, shut up with his treasures in his own secret closet, and starving to death in the midst of his gold, because he cannot unlock the door. These two little states will come together again before a hundred years go over their heads—not as one monarchy, for both want the foundation in their social structure for monarchical government to stand upon —but as two independent states federally united under one general government, like the United States of America, or the Swiss cantons.

The principle of federalism has not been sufficiently examined by political philosophers. Theoretically, it is better adapted to the wants of man in society, than the principle of great monarchical dominions under a sole central government, wheresoever the physical or moral interests of the governed are discordant, wheresoever the rights and advantages of one mass of population, their prosperity, industry, well-being, property, natural benefits of soil, situation, and climate, their manners, language, religion, nationality in spirit or prejudice, are set aside, and sacrificed to those of another mass. In almost all extensive monarchies this must be the case, from the centralisation inseparable from that species of general government. Federalism seems a more natural and just principle of general government, theoretically considered, than this forced centralisation. No rights or advantages of any of the parts are sacrificed in federalism, for nothing is centralised but what is necessary for the external defence, safety, and welfare of all the parts. The peculiar internal welfare of each part, according to its own peculiar internal circumstances, physical and moral, according to its own political idiosyncrasy, is in its own keeping, in its own internal legislative and administrative powers. As civilisation, peace, and industry acquire an influence in the affairs of mankind, which the individual ambition of a sovereign, or the ignorance and evil passions of a ministry, will not be al-

lowed to shake, the superiority of small independent states federally united, each extending over such territory, or masses of society only, as can be governed together, without the sacrifice of one part to another, and each interested in the general civilisation, peace, and industry, will probably be acknowledged by all civilised populations. Junctions morally or physically discordant, as that of Belgium and Holland, Austria and Lombardy, districts and populations on the Vistula and Niemen, with districts and populations on the Rhine and Moselle, are political arrangements which lack any principle of permanency founded upon their benefits to the governed. Nature forbids, by the unalterable differences of soil, climate, situation, and natural advantages of country, or by the equally unalterable moral differences between people and people, that one government can equally serve all—be equally suited to promote the utmost good of all. Federalism involves a principle more akin to natural, free, and beneficial legislation, and to the improvement of the social condition of man, than governments in single extensive states, holding legislative and executive powers over distant and distinct countries and populations, whether such governments be constitutional or despotic. It is much more likely to be the future progress of society, that Europe, in the course of time, civilisation, and the increasing influence of public opinion on all public affairs, will resolve itself into one great federal union of many states, of extent suitable to their moral and physical peculiarities, like the union of the American states, than that those American states will, in the course of time and civilisation, fall back into separate, unconnected, and hostile monarchies and aristocracies, which some modern travellers in America assure us is their inevitable doom. With all respect for their gifts of prophecy, the tendency of human affairs is not to retrograde towards the old, but to advance towards the new, towards a higher physical, moral, and religious condition; towards forms of government in which the interests of the people shall be directed by the people, and for the people. Moral and intellectual power is leavening the whole mass, and not merely the upper crust of European society.

CHAPTER II.

FRANCE—FACE OF THE COUNTRY.—OF ENGLAND—OLD SUBDIVISION OF LAND IN ENGLAND.—GREAT SOCIAL EXPERIMENT IN FRANCE—ABOLITION OF PRIMOGENITURE.—OPINIONS OF ARTHUR YOUNG—MR. BIRBECK—EDINBURGH REVIEWERS—DR. CHALMERS, REVIEWED.—EFFECTS OF THE DIVISION OF LAND IN FRANCE EXAMINED.—FRENCH CHARACTER—MORALS—HONESTY—DECIMAL DIVISION OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, WHY NOT POPULAR.

THE traveller should either know a great deal about the country he is going to visit, or nothing at all; and perhaps his readers would find themselves better off with his ignorance than his knowledge. He is very apt to shut one eye, and look with the other through a coloured glass which he has been at great pains to stain with the opinions and prejudices of other people, and which gives its own hue to every thing he sees through it. In politics, political economy, and the fine arts, most people can only see through their neighbours' spectacles. In France it is particularly difficult to exert the rare faculty of seeing through one's own eyes. France is a moral volcano which has shaken to the ground ancient social structures, laws, governments, and the very ideas, principles, or prejudices which supported them. Who of this generation can approach the crater of such mighty movements, and conscientiously say, that he is able to examine them calmly, philosophically, without preconceived theories, or speculations upon their causes or tendencies? Every reflecting traveller admits that the great elements of change in the social condition of Europe which were thrown out by the French revolution, are only now beginning to work powerfully; that the most important and permanent of its results have been moral, not political; that in reality the French revolution is but in its commencement, as a great social movement. So far all observers of the times we live in travel together: but here they diverge. Each observes the agencies brought into operation upon the mass of the European people by the French revolution, through the distorting medium of the opinions and prejudices of his own country, class, or social position as an individual, and reasons and prophesies only upon the shapes and colours which he sees through this false medium. Am I in a condition to see with clearer eyes? I doubt it. I do not profess it.

The traveller in France finds much to observe, but little to describe. The landscape is a wearisome expanse of tillage land, unvaried by hill and dale, stream and lake, rock and wood land. The towns and villages are squatting in the plains, like stranger beggar women tired of wandering in an unknown land. No suburbs of connected rows of houses and gardens, and of lanes dotted with buildings, trees, and brick walls, stretch, as in England, like feelers into the country, fastening the towns to it by so many lines, that the traveller is in doubt where country ends, and town begins. Here, the towns and villages are distinct, round, inhabited patches upon the face of the land, just as they are represented upon a map: and the flat monotonous surface of the map is no uncharacteristic sketch of the appearance of the country. La belle France, in truth, is a Calmuc beauty; her flat pancake of a face destitute of feature, of projection or dimple, and not even tattooed with lines and cross lines of hedges, walls, and ditches. This wide unhedged expanse of corn-land on either hand, without divisions, or enclosures, or pasture fields, or old trees, single or in groups, is supremely tiresome. The traveller at once admits that France has a natural claim to the word which all other countries have borrowed from her—ennui.

The green network of hedges spread over the face of England, that peculiar charm of English land, must have been formed at some very peculiar period in the history of the English people. It must have been the work of a nation of small proprietors long employed upon it. We view it as an embellishment only, and frequently as an incumbrance, rather than a convenience in husbandry; but it is a memorial of an extinct social condition, different from the present, which has prevailed in some former and distant age in England. This subdivision of the land into small portions by permanent hedges and mounds of earth, is almost peculiar to England. In Scotland, in France, in Germany, in all European countries in which the feudal system gave the original law and tenure of land, no small properties fenced all round from each other have existed of old, unless, it may be, in a few small localities. In England, the history of society and property is written upon the face of the country. This immense work, unexampled in extent in any other country, must have been executed in the 600 years between the final departure of the Romans and the Norman conquest. The open unenclosed surface of those districts of France which belonged to

the earlier kings of our Norman line, shows that in the state of the possession of landed property in those provinces in their time, no subdivisions by numerous small permanent enclosures had ever been required or formed. The small enclosures in England must have been made in a different state of society, before the Norman conquest, yet probably after the Romans left the country. No country occupied by the Romans shows any such traces of subdivision among a small proprietary. The Roman occupation of Britain was altogether military; and such a body of small proprietary would have been adverse in a civil view, and their separate strong enclosures upon the face of the country obstructive in a military view, to the Roman power. The Saxons and Danes—one people in the principles of their laws, institutions, and languages, although in different states of civilisation—must have woven this immense veil over the face of the land during the six centuries they possessed England, under a social arrangement altogether different from the present; one in which their law of partition of property, among all the children, excluding the feudal principle of primogeniture, would produce this subdivision of the land into small distinct fields.

France is now, by the abolition of the feudal tenure of land and of the law of primogeniture, recommencing a state of society which was extinguished in England by the Norman conquest, and the laws of succession adopted from that period. France is in the midst of a great social experiment. Its results upon civilisation can only be guessed at now, and will only be distinctly seen, perhaps, after the lapse of ages. The opinions of all our political economists are adverse to it. Listen to the groans of the most acute observers of our days, on the appalling consequences of this division of landed property. Says Arthur Young, in 1789 (consequently before the sale of the national domains, crown and church estates, and confiscated estates of the noblesse, and before the law of the partition of property among all the children became obligatory on all classes of the community,) "Small properties, much divided, prove the greatest source of misery that can possibly be conceived, and has operated to such a degree and extent in France, that a law ought certainly to be made to render all division below a certain number of arpens illegal." Arthur Young wrote this just about fifty years ago, and a few months only before a law was passed directly opposed to the principle he recommends—the law abolishing the rights of primogeniture, and making the division

of property among all the children obligatory; and which law has been ever since, that is, for nearly half a century, in general and uninterrupted operation. Listen, again, to Mr. Birbeck, a traveller of no ordinary sagacity. "Poor," says he, of the French people under this law, "from generation to generation, and growing continually poorer as they increase in numbers,—in the country, by the incessant division and subdivision of property; in the towns, by the division and subdivision of trades and professions; such a people, instead of proceeding from the necessaries to the comforts of life, and then to the luxuries, as is the condition of things in England, are rather retrograde than progressive. There is no advancement in French society, no improvement, no hope of it." Hear, too, the chirp of Mr. Peter Paul Cobbet, in his ride through France. "Here, in Normandy, great lamentation on account of this revolutionary law. They tell me it has dispersed thousands upon thousands of families who had been upon the same spot for centuries." Listen, too, to the thunders of the *Edinburgh Review*. "In no country of Europe is there such a vast body of proprietors (one half of the population of France is stated in the preceding paragraph to be proprietors,) and in no civilised European country, with the exception of Ireland, is there so large a proportion of the population (stated to be two-thirds) engaged directly in the cultivation, or rather, we should say, in the torture of the soil. And yet the system is but in its infancy. Should it be supported for another half century, *la grande nation* will certainly be the greatest pauper warren in Europe, and will, along with Ireland, have the honour of furnishing hewers of wood, and drawers of water, for all other countries in the world." Alas, for human wisdom! Alas, for the predictions of Arthur Young, Mr. Birbeck, and the *Edinburgh Review!* But who can be a prophet at home? Not that their prophecies were undervalued at home; but their home-made prophecies were of no value—were framed upon narrow local views, and prejudices. When new social arrangements, diametrically opposed in principle and spirit to the feudal, grew up, and unfolded themselves, first in America and afterwards in France, and gradually spread from thence over great part of the present Prussia, the feudalised minds of our Scotch political economists were lavish in their predictions of the degradation, misery, and barbarism which must inevitably ensue among that portion of the human race who were so unfortunate as to adopt the dictates of nature

and reason in their legislation on property and social rank, instead of adhering to conventional and barbarous laws, and institutions, derived from the darkest period of the middle ages.

If natural affection, humanity, reason, religion—if all that distinguishes man from the brute creation—speak more clearly in the human breast on the obligation of one duty than of another, it is on that of the parent providing equally according to his means for all the beings he has brought into existence and added to society; leaving none of them to want and distress if he can help it, or to chance for a precarious subsistence, or to be supported by his neighbours out of their alms, as paupers, or out of their taxes, as useless functionaries, or by uncertain dependence upon employment and bread from others. Is not this a moral and religious duty? Is it not the clearest duty of the parent, not only to the offspring he has brought into existence, but to the social body of which he and they are members? Can any argument of expediency, drawn from our artificial state of society under the feudal system and feudal law of succession to property, and of the advantages of that system, turn away the natural sentiments of men from this great moral duty to their own offspring? from this great moral duty to the rest of society? Yet listen to the morality and political economy taught lately in no obscure corner, and to no uninfluential pupils, but from the Divinity chair of the University of Edinburgh, to the young men who were to go forth, and are now, the religious and moral instructors of the people in the established church of Scotland. "We know," says Dr. Chalmers, in his *Political Economy in connection with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society*, being the substance of a course of lectures delivered to the students of the Theological Hall in Edinburgh,—"We know," says this distinguished philosopher, "that there is a mighty force of sentiment and natural affection arrayed against the law of primogeniture. But here is the way in which we would appease these feelings, and make compensation for the violence done to them. We would make no inroad on the integrity of estates, or, for the sake of a second brother, take off to the extent of a thousand a year from that domain of ten thousand a year which devolved by succession on the eldest son of the family. We should think it vastly better, if, by means of a liberal provision in all the branches of the public service, a place of a thousand a year lay

open to the younger son, whether in the law, or in the church, or in colleges, or in any other well-appointed establishment kept up for the good and interest of the nation."

Will the teachers, or the taught, of this new school of morality and political economy in the Theological Hall of Edinburgh, explain the moral principle on which they recommend the getting rid of "a mighty force of sentiment and natural affection," and "the appeasing those feelings, and making compensation for the violence done to them, by places of a thousand a year," or by any other pecuniary compensation in the public service? The "mighty force of sentiment and natural affection," the "feelings to be appeased and compensated for the violence done them" by places in the church, or the law, or in colleges, or some other well-appointed establishment, are nothing less sacred, or of less moral value, than the paternal affection and the moral sentiment of justice to others, urging on the feelings of the parent to provide equally for each of his children to the utmost of his means; and dictating to him, as a man, the moral duty to his fellow-men of not imposing upon them the burden of maintaining his progeny, either as paupers, or as superfluous public functionaries, if he has property to maintain them himself. Will the teachers, or the taught, of this new school of moral and political philosophy in the University of Edinburgh explain the moral, religious, or philosophical principle of this "appeasing and compensating" for the sacrifice of natural affection, moral feeling, and sentiment of duty, by places in the church, or the law, or in any other well-appointed establishments? They are not in the position of ordinary men speaking or writing speculatively on morals, and responsible only as idle and uninfluential philosophers, or political writers, for the errors of their speculations. The men who are the professional teachers of the people in morals and religion, are bound to hold none but the clearest and purest doctrines—to teach, and to be taught, nothing obscure or doubtful in political, moral, or religious science. The feudal system with its corner-stone, the law of primogeniture, may be a very good or very expedient system; but it is admitted by themselves to be an artificial arrangement of society and property, not established or upheld in the human mind by nature or religion, but, on the contrary, one against which "there is a mighty force of sentiment and natural affection arrayed." Will they explain the moral principle of their doctrine, that the most virtuous feelings in our nature—the

mighty force of natural affection for our children, and the mighty force of the sentiment of justice to our fellow-men—should be sacrificed to support an artificial system or arrangement of society, be that system or arrangement ever so expedient or beneficial? Will they explain the moral principle upon which they recommend "the appeasing those natural feelings of affection and moral duty, and the compensating for the violence done to them," by an appointment of a thousand a year, or by any other pecuniary compensation? Will they explain the moral difference between the conduct of the owner of a domain of ten thousand a year, who leaves it all to his eldest son, and leaves his younger son to be provided for by his neighbours out of their taxes, in some appointment of a thousand a year in the church, or the law, or in any other public establishment—which is the case propounded and recommended by them—and the conduct of the wretched female who exposes her new-born babe on her neighbour's door-step to be provided for out of his means? The moral guilt of the latter, driven by want and misery to abandon the infant she is unable to maintain, appears to all men whose moral sense has not been cultivated at the Theological Hall of the University of Edinburgh, infinitely less than that of the man of ten thousand a year, who abandons his younger children to the support of the public, in order to leave all his estate to the eldest son. Will they explain the moral grounds of their teaching, that the abandonment of his parental and social duties to his offspring, and to his fellow-men, is a laudable act in the case of the rich domain owner, and the same abandonment an immoral and criminal act in the case of the wretched strumpet? They are the teachers of the people of Scotland, whose principles of moral and political philosophy, as laid down in their own text-book, are here arraigned, and they ought to satisfy every doubt that is suggested to the public mind, either of the moral purity or of the philosophical correctness of their speculations. Will they explain the principle and justice of their political economy on this subject, and also its working and effects on society? If the owner of a domain of ten thousand a year is morally, and for the general benefit of society, entitled to a provision of a thousand a year for his younger son from the rest of the community—for they, the rest, pay with their taxes the appointments in the law, the church, and all other branches of public service, which it is proposed and recommended to establish for the benefit of the younger sons of those rich pau-

pers, and as a compensation to the latter for having stifled their natural affections as parents, and their sense of duty to their fellow-men—that younger son must be equally entitled to a provision for his younger son; for he too has natural affection and a moral sense to stifle, and to be compensated for. How long, to what extent, and with what effect on the wellbeing of society is this clerical system of political economy to work, by which the property of all is to be devoted to the subsistence, in highly paid offices, of a part of the community? Will they also explain if all those younger sons of domain owners, thus to be provided for *ad infinitum* at the public expense, in order to enable and encourage wealthy parents to stifle the feelings of natural affection and social duty, and leave undiminished their domains of ten thousand a year to their eldest sons, are all to be born with the necessary qualifications for those liberal appointments in the church, or in the law, or in the public service, which it is proposed to establish for their subsistence? Are they, for instance, to be born clergymen of the church of Scotland, with all the talents and acquirements needful, or are they only to bring into the world with them all the learning and divinity necessary, but are to acquire their principles of moral philosophy and political economy at the Theological Hall of the University of Edinburgh?

It is the duty of every inquirer into political and social economy to raise his voice against such attempts to educate a people into the support of any social or political system founded on mere expediency, not upon moral principle; and which is not the only social arrangement among civilised men, nor proved by reasoning, or experience, to be incontrovertibly the best for the general wellbeing of a community. This is perverting education to the most despicable end—the support of a political system. Other social arrangements than the feudal do exist in civilised countries. Religion, morality, and social wellbeing flourish in those countries, as well as in the countries feudally constituted. To enlist the passions or prejudices of mankind by education into a partisanship for one or the other constitution of society, to inculcate the sacrifice of moral duty, of natural sentiment, of the highest affections and feelings of human beings, for the support of one or the other social arrangement on account of its real or supposed expediency, is unsound doctrine.

The condition of Ireland, divided and subdivided among a small tenantry, whose savings, be it remembered, by wretched

diet, lodging, and raiment, and the privation of every comfort of civilised life, is a saving which goes in the shape of high rent into the pockets of another class, the landowners, not into their own pockets, as the gains of their frugality, to be added to their property, or means of expenditure, was, and still is, the grand bugbear of our Scotch political economists, and still furnishes the main argument against the distribution of landed property through the social body, by the natural and moral law of succession. They did not, and do not at present consider the somewhat important difference of people being the owners or not the owners of the land divided. The belly is too faithful a counsellor to the head, to allow a man to sit down to live upon a piece of land of his own, if it be not large enough to support him in the way he has been accustomed to live. He turns his property into another shape—into money, and makes a living out of it as a tradesman. Between the condition of such a landowner, and an Irish cottar-tenant, there is the important difference, that the former has a capital which he may keep in land, or invest in leather or sugar; he may be a peasant, or a shoemaker, or a grocer, according to his judgment, and if he lives merely upon potatoes and water, what he spares is increasing his capital, and means of gratification in some other shape. The Irish cottar-tenant has no property to begin with, in the land or in any thing else. He is, and his whole class, in consequence of the working of the law of primogeniture in society, pauper *ab initio*; and all that is spared by his inferior condition, in respect of the comforts and necessaries of life, goes into his landlord's pocket, in the shape of rent, not into his own as the savings of his own prudence and frugality. He is also placed in a false position by the landholders of Ireland, even as compared to the cottar-tenantry which existed formerly, all over Scotland, and still continue in the northern counties. The latter were generally charged a rent in kind, that is, in a proportion of the crops produced, or with a reference to the average crops of the land. The peasant could understand the simple data before him, knew at once whether the land could produce enough to feed his family and leave a surplus such as was demanded for rent, and, if not, he sought a living in some other employment. His standard of living was not deteriorated by his rent in kind, because he had a clearly seen surplus of the best as well as of the worst of the products of his farm for family consumption, after paying the portion of these products that were his rent. The Irish small tenantry, on

the contrary, have to pay for their land in money. It would be just as reasonable to make them pay for their land in French wines for the squire, or Parisian dresses for the lady. Their land produces neither gold, nor silver, nor Irish bank-notes. It is not reasonable to make the peasant, the ignorant man, pay in those commodities—they are but commodities like wines and silks—and to make men, simple, inexperienced in trade, and a prey to market-jobbers, to run the double mercantile risk of selling their own commodities, and buying those in which their landlords choose to be paid their rents. The great capitalist-farmer may choose to add the trade of the corn-merchant to that of the agriculturist, and to take the mercantile as well as the agricultural risks and profits upon himself; but even the shrewdest of this class, the great farmers of the south of Scotland, are dropping, as fast as they can, this mercantile branch of farming business, and coming back to the natural principle of farming, that of paying for their land a proportion of what the land produces, so many bolls of grain per acre—throwing upon the laird the risk which, in reason and common-sense, ought to devolve upon him, that of turning his share of the produce raised by the farmer's labour, skill, and capital, out of his acres, into gold or bank-bills.

Money rent deteriorates the condition of a small tenant in two ways. The more honestly he is inclined, the more poorly and meanly he must live. He must sell all his best produce, his grain, his butter, his flax, his pig, and subsist upon the meanest of food, his worst potatoes and water, to make sure of money for his rent. It thus deteriorates his standard of living. He is also tempted by money-rent out of the path of certainty into that of chance. It thus deteriorates his moral condition. Ask him six barrels of oats, or barley, or six stones of butter, or flax, for a piece of land which never produced four, and his common-sense and experience guides him. He sees and comprehends the simple data before him, knows from his experience that such a crop cannot be raised, such a rent cannot be afforded, and he is off to England or America to seek a living. But ask him six guineas per acre for a piece of land, proportionably as much over-rented as the other, and he trusts to chance, to accident, to high market prices, to odd jobs of work turning up, to summer or harvest labour out of the country—in short, he does not know to what; for he is placed in a false position, made to depend upon chance of markets, and on mercantile success and profits, as much as upon industry and skill in working his little farm.

In all those respects the condition of the small tenant, and that of the small proprietor, are so totally different, that our political economists reason upon false data, when they conclude that a country divided among small proprietors must necessarily present, or fall into, the same evils in the social condition of the people, as a country occupied by a small over-rented tenantry.

They set out, also, in their speculations, with a false axiom. They admit that a certainty of subsistence—food, fuel, clothing, and lodging, being all comprehended under this term, subsistence—is the first and greatest good in the physical condition of an individual or of a society; and they assume it as an axiom, that those parts of a social body, those individuals or classes, who are employed in producing articles of general use or desire among men—to put the case in the strongest light, say blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, and such classes as produce articles which every individual in the community requires and uses,—are as near to this first and greatest good of a certain subsistence by their work, as those immediately employed in its production by husbandry. Now this may be true, where husbandry is a manufacture, as with us in Britain, for producing by hired labourers the greatest quantity possible of grain, meat, and other products out of the soil, to be exchanged against the products of other branches of industry. It may be true that the hired labourers of the manufacturer of corn from land are no nearer to a certainty of subsistence than the hired labourers of the manufacturer of cloth or leather. But it is not true, where husbandry is followed as in France, and in the countries divided among a small proprietary, for the sake of subsisting the husbandman himself, the actual labourer on the land, as its first object; and where the exchanging its products for other articles, even of general use and necessity, is but a secondary object. A man will not give up his needful food, fuel, clothing, or lodging, to gratify even his real and most pressing wants of iron-work, leather-work, or cloth-work. His surplus only will be applied to acquiring those secondary necessaries of life; and those who live by making them are, consequently, far from being so near to that first good in social condition, a certain subsistence, as he is. But if two-thirds of the population of a country be in the situation of this individual, who has his certain subsistence out of his own land, by his own labour, and depends upon no man's surplus for his own needful food, fuel, clothing, and lodging, I take that to be a good state of society, a better arrangement of the

social structure, than where needful subsistence is not certain to the great majority of its numbers. It carries, moreover, within itself, a check upon over-population, and the consequent deterioration of the social condition, and which is totally wanting in the other social system. In even the most useful and necessary arts and manufactures, the demand for labourers is not a seen, known, steady, and appreciable demand; but it is so in husbandry under this social construction. The labour to be done, the subsistence that labour will produce out of his portion of land, are seen and known elements in a man's calculation upon his means of subsistence. Can his square of land, or can it not, subsist a family? Can he marry, or not? are questions which every man can answer without delay, doubt, or speculation. It is the depending on chance, where judgment has nothing clearly set before it, that causes reckless, improvident marriages in the lower, as in the higher classes, and produces among us the evils of over-population: and chance necessarily enters into every man's calculations, when certainty is removed altogether; as it is, where certain subsistence is, by our distribution of property, the lot of but a small portion, instead of about two-thirds of the people.

Another axiom taken up as granted, and as quite undeniable, by our agriculturists and political economists, is, that small farms are incompatible with a high or perfect state of cultivation in a country. In the same breath they recommend a garden-like cultivation of the land. Pray what is a garden but a small farm? and what do they recommend, but that a large farm should be, as nearly as possible, brought into the state of cultivation and productiveness of a garden or small farm? This can only be done, they tell us, by the application of large capitals, such as small farmers cannot command, to agriculture: let us reduce these grand words to their proper value. Capital signifies the means of purchasing labour; the application of capital to agriculture means the application of labour to land. A man's own labour, as far as it goes, is as good as any he can buy, nay, a great deal better, because it is attended by a perpetual overseer—his self-interest—watching that it is not wasted or misapplied. If this labour be applied to a suitable, not too large, nor too small, area of soil, it is capital applied to land, and the best kind of capital, and applied in the best way to a garden-like cultivation. A garden is better dug, and manured, and weeded, and drained, and is proportionably far more pro-

ductive than a large farm, because more toil and labour, that is, more capital is bestowed upon it, in proportion to its area. A small farm, held not by the temporary right of a tenant, and under the burden of a heavy rent, but by the owner of the soil, and cultivated by the labour of his family, is precisely the principle of gardening applied to farming ; and in the countries in which land has long been occupied and cultivated in small farms by the owners—in Tuscany, Switzerland, and Flanders—the garden-like cultivation and productiveness of the soil are cried up by those very agriculturists and political economists, who cry down the means, the only means, by which it can be attained universally in a country—the division of the land into small, garden-like estates, farmed by the proprietors. It is possible that the family of the small proprietor-farmer consume almost all that they produce, and have very little surplus to send to market ; but that merely affects the proportions of the population engaged in producing food, and in producing objects to be exchanged for food. The produce supports the same number of human beings—every potatoe finds a mouth—whether the whole of it belongs to one man, who sells it for the labour and productions of the rest of the number, or belongs in small portions to the whole. The traveller who considers the prices, supplies, and varieties of agricultural food in the market towns in Flanders, France, Switzerland, and the liberal use, or, more correctly, the abundance and waste in the cooking and housekeeping of all classes in those countries, will scarcely admit even, that in proportion to the number of the whole community not engaged in husbandry, a smaller surplus for their consumpt is sent to market by the small farmers. It cannot be denied that a minute division of the land into small, free, garden-like properties, seems, *à priori*, more favourable to a garden-like cultivation of a country than its division into vast baronial estates, and the sub-division of these into extensive farms, on which the actual husbandmen, as a class, are but hired labourers, having no interest in the productions of the soil, and no object in their work but to get the day over.

How stand the statistical facts that bear upon this important question ? It is stated by Dupin, that the amount of arable land at present in France is but little more than it was in 1789, but that the population is increased by about eight millions ; and in consequence of the division of property by the law of succession, that one-half of the whole population are proprietors,

and, counting their families, two-thirds of the whole are engaged in the direct cultivation of the soil. It will not be said by the most strenuous advocate of those feudal arrangements of society which the French revolution annihilated in France, that the French people now are worse fed, worse clothed, worse lodged, or less generally provided with the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life, than they were before 1789, before the revolution, when Arthur Young described the wretched condition of the people. The imports and consumpt of the tropical products in France prove how superior, beyond all comparison, is the present state of the people. Now, how is this additional population of eight millions of individuals fed from the same extent of arable land, if not by their superior cultivation of that land? The same extent of arable land is supporting about one-third more people—for the population of France was then reckoned about 25 millions, and now about 33 millions—and in greater abundance and comfort. How is this, if the land is not in a more productive cultivation, under the present division into small properties? It is evident from the statistical facts, that without any noticeable improvement in the modes, rotations, or utensils of husbandry, the mere subdivision of the area to which labour is applied into small-property-farms, cultivated in a garden-like way, and the converting the labour formerly applied to the same area, from hired labour, or perhaps unpaid labour of serfs, into the labour of proprietors working on their own land, are sufficient to account for a more garden-like cultivation and productiveness of the same extent of arable land. Two generations of adults, or fifty years, have passed away under the deteriorating effects of the partition of land, denounced by Arthur Young, in 1789, as even then, "the greatest source of misery that can be conceived." This greatest conceivable source of misery has not diminished the population, nor made it more miserable. This partition and repartition of land has not reduced all estates to one minimum size, like an Irish cottar's acre. Estates of all sizes and values, from £500 to £50,000 in price, are to be found on sale in France, as in England. The aggregation of land by deaths of co-relatives, balances the partition of land by deaths of parents. The application even of great capitals, and scientific skill to objects of husbandry, has not been impeded by this partition of land. The capital, for example, laid out in France in establishments for making beet-root sugar, is greater, perhaps, than has been laid out in Britain

during the same period, on any one agricultural object. The thing itself, the making sugar from beet-root, as an agricultural operation in modern husbandry, may be impolitic, if such sugar can only be made under protecting duties, and if sugar can be got cheaper, and without slave labour, from the West Indies—a point not at all ascertained; but the value of the fact for our argument remains the same. A beet-root sugar work requires science, skill, expensive machinery, and very considerable capital. Hydraulic presses of the best construction to express the juice, and steam engines to pump it up, are not rare in beet-root sugar works. I have visited one in the Pas de Calais, in which the presses and engines had been made in London for the work, at a time when we scarcely knew that such an agricultural object existed, and was carried on so near us. At present, that is, in 1841, France has 389 beet-root sugar works in activity, although no longer favoured or protected by any unequal duty on colonial sugar; and from January 1840 to the end of May 1841, these have delivered to the consumpt of the country 26,174,547 kilogrammes, or 5,234,909 cwt., which have paid in duty to the revenue 3,205,783 francs. The total consumpt of France yearly appears to be about 16,518,840 cwt. of sugar. It may perhaps be a question whether in all England, south of Trent, there can be found so many threshing machines of the best and most expensive construction—such as cost from £800 to £1200, in the best agricultural districts of Northumberland, Roxburghshire, and the Lothians—as France, under her partition law of succession, can produce of these complicated, and far more expensive establishments.

The social effects of the partition of property upon the condition of the people, as well as the economical effects on their agriculture, are very wide of those preconceived and predicted. What has been the march of society under this law since 1816, when France first began to enjoy it in a settled state of peace? In the first seven or eight years after 1816, all society had still a martial air and habit. The soldier was everything and everywhere. Boys would strut about, and have you believe that they had seen fire at Montmartre, or, at the least, had been with the army of the Loire. For the first three or four years, France was one great camp of disbanded soldiers, swaggering and idling about, in town and country. The small proprietors had not confidence in the security of their portions of confiscated domains of the church, or of the emigrant noblesse, and had not

the means or courage to improve them. The predictions of our political economists seemed hastening to fulfilment. But in the next period of six or eight years, a change came over the spirit of the land. The military mania abated. On se lasse de tout, especially in France. The soldier was in the back-ground. The vieux militaire was voted a tiresome, old, stupid bore. Idlers of the middle and lower classes were evidently diminishing in numbers and importance. The young men you met with in the diligence, or at the table d'hôte, were no longer billiard-table loungers and half-pay officers, but sons of proprietors from the south, selling their wines in the northern departments, or of merchants and manufacturers from the north, extending their business in the south. Industry was evidently on the move. Houses were in building in every village. The small land-owners had acquired means and confidence, and were beginning to lodge themselves on their little estates. Prices, profits, speculations, undertakings, establishments in business, engrossed all conversation among all classes. Now, in the last period of seven or eight years, the French are passing from a military to an industrious people, as rapidly as such a change in the spirit of so vast a mass of population so lately military can be expected. This change in the spirit of a nation cannot be rapid, because there is at first an under supply of commercial and manufacturing means, and objects, to employ the activity and restlessness of mind reared in military habits; and the government, unfortunately, agitates for military pre-eminence in Europe, instead of favouring the advance of peaceful habits in the population; but the change evidently is in progress, is advancing, is far advanced, and all France is undoubtedly alive with an industry, and a commercial manufacturing spirit, unknown at any former period of her history.

The condition of the French people as to food, clothing, and the comforts of life, compared to their condition before 1789, is undoubtedly better. What is the condition of their labouring class at present, compared to that of our own? The only means of comparison is to take one class of men, whose condition is in all countries the same, relatively to that of the common labourer, the military—and to compare the condition of the common labourer in each country, with that of the common soldier. Now in England, since 1816, no bounty, or very trifling bounty, is required to obtain recruits for the army; and none but men of the best description as to age, health, and stature, are received.

The inference to be made is, that the condition of our common soldier is so much better than, or so equal to, the condition of our common labourer, that little or no inducement of bounty is required to make able-bodied men enlist in sufficient numbers. But the condition of our soldier has not been altered for the better since the peace, since 1816. It is the condition of our labouring class that has altered for the worse. In England, as in France, the soldier is fed, paid, lodged, and clothed, precisely as he was five-and-twenty years ago. But in France, although the term of service is only for six years, so far are the labouring class from such a condition as to enlist without the inducement of bounty, that from 1800 to 2000 francs, or £80 sterling, is usually offered for a recruit to serve as a substitute for one who is drawn by ballot for the army. Clubs and assurance companies are established all over France for providing substitutes for the members who may happen to be drawn for service. The inference to be made is, that here the condition of the common labourer is too good to be exchanged for that of the common soldier without the inducement of a premium; his labour too valuable to be given for the mere living and pay of the soldier, although the soldier's pay and living are as good, in proportion to the habits of the people and price of provisions as in England.

How ludicrous, as one sits on the deck of a fine steam-vessel going down the Saone, or the Rhone, or the Seine, passing every half hour other steam-vessels, and every five or six miles under iron suspension bridges, and past canals, short factory railroads even, and new-built factories—how laughable, now, to read the lugubrious predictions of Arthur Young half a century ago, of Birbeck quarter of a century ago, of the Edinburgh Review some twenty years ago, about the inevitable consequences of the French law of succession! "A pauper warren!" Look up from the page and laugh. Look around upon the actual prosperity, and well-being, and rising industry of this people, under their system. Look at the activity on their rivers, at the new factory chimneys against the horizon, at the steam-boats, canals, roads, coal works, wherever nature gives any opening to enterprise. France owes her present prosperity, and rising industry, to this very system of subdivision of property, which allows no man to live in idleness, and no capital to be employed without a view to its reproduction, and places that great instrument of industry and wellbeing, property, in the hands of all classes. The same area of arable land, according to

Dupin, feeds now a population greater by eight millions, and certainly in greater abundance and comfort, than under the former system of succession; because now its produce is applied to feeding reproductive labourers, who, either in husbandry on their own little estates, or in manufactures, or trade, are producing, while they are consuming, what brings back either consumable produce, or the value of what they consume in due time. But the produce applied to the feeding of soldiery, of labourers employed by a splendid court in works of mere ostentation and grandeur, in building palaces, or constructing magnificent public works of no utility equivalent to the labour expended, and, to a certain extent, even in the fine arts, and, above all, in supporting a numerous idle aristocracy, gentry, and clergy, with their dependent followers, was a waste of means, a consumpt without any corresponding return of consumable or saleable produce from the labour or industry of the consumers. In this view, the comparison between the old feudal construction of society in France, and the new under the present law of succession, resolves itself into this result,—that one-third more people are supported under the new, in greater abundance and comfort, from the same extent of arable land, in consequence of the law of succession having swept off the non-productive classes, forced them into active industry, and obliged all consumers, generally speaking, to be producers also, while they consume. In this view, the cost of supporting the old court, aristocracy, gentry, clergy, and all the system and arrangements of society in France, under the ancient régime, has been equivalent to the cost of supporting one-third more inhabitants in France, and in greater comfort and wellbeing; and this is the gain France has realized by her revolution, and by the abolition of the law of primogeniture, its most important measure.

Let us do justice to the French character. Their self-command, their upon-honour principle, is very remarkable, and much more generally diffused than among our own population. They are, I believe, a more honest people than the British. The beggar, who is evidently hungry, respects the fruit upon the road-side within his reach, although there is nobody to protect it. Property is much respected in France; and in bringing up children, this fidelity towards the property of others seems much more carefully inculcated by parents in the lowest class, in the home education of their children, than with us. This respect for

the property is closely connected with that respect for the feelings of our neighbours, which constitutes what is called good manners. This is carefully inculcated in children of all ranks in France. They are taught to do what is pleasing and agreeable to others. We are too apt to undervalue this spirit, as tending merely to superficial accomplishments, to empty compliment in words, and unmeaning appearance in acts. But, in reality, this reference to the feelings of others in all we do, is a moral habit of great value where it is generally diffused, and enters into the home training of every family. It is an education both of the parent and child in morals, carried on through the medium of external manners. Our lower and middle classes are deficient in this kind of family education; and there is some danger that the parents in those classes may come to rely too much with us, for all education, upon the parish and Sunday schools. It is but reading, writing, reckoning, and the catechism, after all, that can be taught a people by the most perfect system of national school education; and those acquirements would be dearly bought if they interfere with, or supersede family instruction and parental example, and admonition in the right and wrong, in conduct, morals, and manners. It is a fine distinction of the French national character, and social economy, that practical morality is more generally taught through manners, among and by the people themselves, than in any country in Europe. One or two striking instances of this general respect for property have occurred to me in travelling in France. I once forgot my umbrella in a diligence going to Bordeaux, in which I travelled as far as Tours. My umbrella went on to Bordeaux, and returned to Tours in the corner of the coach, without being appropriated by any of the numerous passengers, or work people, who must have passed through it on so long a journey, and have had this stray unowned article before them. I once travelled from Paris to Boulogne with a gentleman who had come up the same road a few days before. We were conversing on this very subject, the honesty of the people in general, and he recollected having left on the table of one of the inns half a basket of grapes, worth about 12 sous, which, he said, he was sure he would find safe. On arriving, he asked the waiter if he had seen the grapes, and they were instantly produced, as a matter of course, out of a press in which they had been carefully put away as property not belonging to the house. It is the great diffusion and exposure of property in small things, among a nation

of small proprietors, that produce this regard for its safety even in trifles, this practical morality. It is not the value lost, but the injury to the feeling of ownership, which constitutes the criminality, or rather the injury, in many petty aggressions on property; and respect for the feelings of others enters into the manners and morals of the French.

Society left to itself will, probably, always work itself up to its moral wants. The moral condition of France, from 1794 to 1816, had certainly no aid from the clerical, educational, civil, or military establishments of its government, or from the wars and tumults in which the country was engaged; yet countries blessed, during all that period, with the fullest, most powerful, and best endowed church establishments, as part of their government, may envy the moral condition of the great mass of the French people. The social economist, who looks at France, and at the United States of America, will pause before he admits in its fullest extent the usual clerical assumption, that a powerful church establishment, and an union of church and state, are essential to the morality, piety, or education of a people. He will be apt to conclude, that society left to itself will provide according to its wants, and to its recipient capabilities, for education, morals, and religion —that these must grow naturally out of social circumstances, and cannot be forced by establishments, clerical or educational, into any wholesome existence—and that a people will no more fall into barbarism, or retrograde in civilisation, from the want of establishments suitable to their social condition, than a family will turn cannibals from wanting a butcher's shop or a cook.

It is nearly half a century since the decimal division of money, weights, and measures was adopted by the French Convention, and by every succeeding government it has been adhered to, and enforced by law. The learned in all other countries, as well as in France, are unanimous in recommending its adoption, on account of the greater practical facility in operations and accounts, of the decimal than the duodecimal division of weights, measures, and money; yet, in spite of law and science, the French people continue to use the duodecimal division. They persist in thinking duodecimally, even when by law they must express themselves decimally. Is this obstinate adherence to the least perfect and most difficult mode of reckoning quantity, or value, in the ordinary affairs of life, the effect of mere prejudice, of blind custom, of the perversity, in short, of the public mind? I suspect the cause lies deeper. Prejudice, custom, or perversity, will not make

people forego a clear advantage. Men of science and legislators, in recommending and adopting the decimal division, have considered only the arithmetical operations to be performed with numerals; but not the nature of the subjects to which those operations with numerals are applied. Weights, measures of capacity or of extension, and money, are measures applied to the products of nature, or of human industry, and to their value in exchange with other products through the medium of money. Now the value of the products either of nature, or of art, is the time and labour involved in them. The value of the most valuable of natural products, the diamond, has the same base as the value of a pin,—it is the value of scarcity; that is to say, of the time and labour it would cost to find such another diamond, or to make such another pin. The value of those two elements—time and labour—is what we buy, and sell, and record in our accounts, and to which all measurement of quantity with a reference to value, and all reckoning in the ordinary transactions of life, refer. One of these two elements—time—regulates, in a considerable degree, the value of the other—labour—and is the usual measure of it. It is the time employed by which we measure the work done, and estimate its value in ordinary affairs. But time is divided by nature duodecimally not decimally. The four seasons, the twelve months of a year, the four weeks in a month, the twenty-four hours in a day, the twelve working hours, the hours of light and darkness, the six working days in a week, are partly natural divisions of time connected with changes in our planetary position, and partly conventional, such as the number of working hours in a day, or of working days in a week, but derived from the natural divisions, and all are duodecimally divided. Labour being estimated by time, and time divided duodecimally, the products of time and labour—that is to say, all that men buy, sell, use, or estimate in reckoning—are necessarily and properly, measured by weights, measures, or money, also duodecimally divided; so that parts of the one correspond to parts of the other. To measure or pay in decimals what is delivered in duodecimals, is not an easy or natural process; although, apart from all consideration of what numerals are applied to, and in more abstract operations with them, the decimal system is unquestionably the most easy and perfect to reckon by. To pay one hour's work, or two hours' work, of a day divided into twelve working hours, out of money divided duodecimally, is an easy process—or to measure the product of time and work by measures of quantity also duodecimally

divided; but to measure the same by decimal weights or measures, or pay for the work in decimally divided money, is not a simple operation. It is time, in reality, which is the element bought and sold between man and man, if we resolve the value of productions to its base: and unless time is divided decimally, which natural arrangement renders impracticable, the decimal division cannot be generally adopted in ordinary affairs. It would be a retrograde step to measure all production in which time is the main element of value, by one scale, and to measure time itself by another. It may be arithmetically right, looking only to the abstract operations with the numerals, to adopt the decimal division; but it would be philosophically wrong, looking at the nature of the things to which the numerals are to be applied. A great proportion of the food of mankind, also, is divided by nature duodecimally. The beasts of the field and birds of the air happen to have generally four, not five limbs; and the butcher, in spite of decimals, will divide, cut, and weigh his beef and mutton by quarters and halves, not by five-tenths or five-twentieths of the carcass. In many of the most necessary and perpetually recurring applications of weight, measure, time, labour, and money value, to natural objects duodecimally divided by nature, the decimal division is inconvenient, and therefore never will come into general use in France, or any where else.

CHAPTER III.

SOCIAL ECONOMY—WHY NOT TREATED AS A DISTINCT SCIENCE.—ARISTOCRACY REPLACED BY FUNCTIONARISM IN FRANCE—IN GERMANY.—INTERFERENCE OF GOVERNMENT WITH FREE AGENCY.—AMOUNT OF FUNCTIONARISM IN A FRENCH DEPARTMENT—INDRE ET LOIRE—AMOUNT IN A SCOTCH COUNTY—SHIRE OF AYR.—EFFECTS OF FUNCTIONARISM ON INDUSTRY—ON NATIONAL CHARACTER—ON MORALS—ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY.—CHANGE IN THE STATE OF PROPERTY IN PRUSSIA.—TWO ANTAGONISTIC PRINCIPLES IN THE SOCIAL ECONOMY OF PRUSSIA.

SOCIAL economy—the construction of the social body of a country, the proportions in numbers and influence of the elements of which it is composed, the arrangements and institutions for the administration of its laws, police, and public business, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, and the principles on which all this social machinery should be constructed for working beneficially on the physical and moral condition of the people—is a science distinct from the sciences of government, legislation, jurisprudence, or political economy. These are but branches of social economy in its most extended meaning. It embraces all that affects social prosperity, and the wellbeing, moral and physical, of the individuals composing the social body of the country. Although its subjects are well defined, and its objects important, this science is rarely touched upon by philosophers. What we know of the social economy of any foreign country we must gather from travels and statistical works. These give the materials, but not the principles; the facts, but not the conclusions upon their causes or consequences. The political philosopher has never taken up these materials, or facts, and deduced from them the principles on which society ought to be constructed for attaining the highest moral and physical wellbeing of all its members. The cause of this neglect may be that in Germany, the prolific mother of theory and speculation, it might not be very safe to write or to lecture upon this science; for a good social economy would imply social arrangements altogether adverse, both in principle and in operation, to the political power of the state over private free agency, which is the basis of all social institutions in Germany. The mind, too, bred amidst these

slavish institutions of Germany, is itself slavish. The political conceptions of the German mind, as expressed at least in writings or conversation, are, in general, either abject to the last degree, or extravagant to the last degree—the conceptions of slaves, or of slaves run mad; both equally distant from the sober, rational speculations and conclusions of free men, on the subject of their political and civil liberties. In England, no sudden overwhelming revolution in property and government, since the Norman conquest, has forced upon the country a total reconstruction of her social arrangements. The power of her legislature also to alter, amend, or enact laws, according to exigence, or public opinion, and still more the nature of her jurisprudence, by which cases are decided and become land-marks in law, by the common sense of the age influencing courts and juries, and not, as in feudally constructed countries, by the rigid application of the principles of a code belonging to a different age and social condition, have removed the necessity of the English mind occupying itself with speculations upon the principles of the social arrangements of the country so generally, as upon the principles of its national wealth, of population, of pauperism, and of other branches of its political economy. The wants of society, as of the individual, are less felt, or less thought of, when the remedy is ready, and its application is at all times in our own power, and is even going on of itself in amending obvious defects in social arrangements. We are only beginning slowly, and piecemeal, to alter and improve our social arrangements for the administration and execution of law and public business, for police, for relief of destitution, for the health and education of the people; and we advance from exigence to exigence as the occasion for interference arises, and not by a reference to, and a sudden change in, any general principles or established practices.

In France new social arrangements were suddenly forced upon the country by the revolution. The people were enthusiastic for changes in the old system; and the new arrangements were formed suddenly, and induced suddenly over the face of the country, at a moment when military invasion or aggression, and civil disorder and anarchy, were to be apprehended and provided against. The principle of military power, and of the hand of government being applied to everything, entered of necessity, at this crisis, into all the new social arrangements. Although these were sown and reared in the hotbed of the warmest enthusiasm for liberty, equality, and the rights of man, and in the wildest

moments of the revolution, they have been found so well adapted to all the purposes of despotic government, that they have been transplanted from France into all the other continental states. It is not the least curious of the anomalies of modern times, that the whole internal social arrangements of La Republique Française for the administration of law, police, and civil and military affairs among her free citoyens, have been adopted by all the monarchical and arbitrary states of Europe, as the most suitable machinery for their governments. The cause is the same.

The abolition of an hereditary aristocracy in France, as an influential power in the social structure, threw each successive government, under whatever power or name, republican, consular, imperial, or monarchical, upon one principle for support—the influence of an extensive government patronage. It is the characteristic of the French mind to systematise, to carry out every principle to the utmost extreme of minuteness and subdivision. The new social arrangements for the administration of law, police, and public business, were carried at once to a minuteness of efficiency and perfection, altogether inconsistent with the civil liberty or public spirit of a people. The extreme spirit of system, of interference in all things, of surveillance over all things, required a vast body of functionarism, a civil army of public officials among the people; and this influence both directly effective, and indirectly by the beneficial employments it affords acting as bribes to the active, and educated in every class, has been the basis of the social support of every government in France since the revolution.

In Germany the same cause has produced the same effect. The decline of aristocracy as an influential element in society, partly by the direct working of the Code Napoleon, and the partition or sale of the estates of the nobility, where the French occupied the country, partly and chiefly by the general advance of the middle class in wealth, intelligence, independence, and influence over public opinion, has thrown all the continental governments upon a similar support. Aristocracy is succeeded by functionarism as a state power, as a binding influence between the people and their governments in the social structure of Europe.

This mechanisation of all social duties in the hands of government is a demoralising influence incompatible with the development of industry, free agency, or public spirit. England reduced at the peace her civil army of tax-gatherers and government

functionaries as well as her military. France kept up her machinery of civil establishments. The arrangements adopted at an early period of the revolution by the Directory have continued augmenting rather than diminishing, under eachsuccessive government, and have silently spread over all the continent; less, perhaps, from direct imitation or approval, than from the wants of all the continental governments during the war and since, having been the same—men and money; and the same arrangements which were seen to be effective in France for raising men and money were adopted by her neighbours. The conscription, the passport system, the division of the country into departments, circles, cantons, and communes—each with its functionaries for civil, financial, and military affairs,—and the military organisation of all classes of government functionaries, and the system of government interference and surveillance in all matters, are transferred from republican France to monarchical or despotic Germany, and appear to have been equally suitable to both.

It is in France this system should be studied, as in France it arose. It is a shoot from her tree of liberty, which seems to find something very congenial to its nature in despotic soils.

France is divided into eighty-six departments, containing no less than 38,061 communes or civil parishes, in each of which there is a local government functionary. Taking the population of France in 1838 at 33,540,908 individuals, each group of 176 families, or 881 souls, has one public functionary, exclusive of policemen, tax-gatherers, &c., among them, for administration or execution of governmental business. Besides the inferior local functionaries, who are expectants upon higher places and emoluments, a group of communes forms a canton, a group of cantons an arrondissement, a group of arrondissements a department; and each of these groups has its superintending and revising colleges of functionaries for the administrative, executive, and financial duties.

The great social problem of this age is, to what extent should the hand of government interfere in matters which directly or indirectly affect the public? Should superintendence and surveillance be extended over all matters in which the public can by any possibility be affected? or should all such matters be left entirely to private free agency and judgment; government interposition being the exception, not the rule, and exerted only in the rare cases in which private interests acting against the

public good, are unopposed by other private interests. The same question, under another name, is that of centralisation in our social system in Britain, of the administration of law, police, and local business, in which the whole community is interested, such as the charge of roads, of the poor, of education, of criminal prosecution—in the hands of the general government, and of its paid magistrates and functionaries—or leaving them, as heretofore, in the hands and under the management of the people themselves.

In this important question in social economy—upon the final and practical solution of which the future shape of society, and the amount of civil liberty enjoyed by the people of Europe mainly depend, the English nation stands at one end of the line, with their descendants on the American continent, and France and Prussia with all the imitative German states, at the other. We understand, more or less, our own social economy in Great Britain, and the general principle of non-interference of government, unless in rare exceptive cases on which it rests; but we are generally ignorant of the social economy of the continent, of the amount of government interference and superintendence carried into affairs which are conducted with us by the private interests or public spirit of individuals, and of the effects on the industry, civil liberty, and moral condition of the people, by the limitation of individual free-agency, and the intermixture of government functionarism in all the acts and duties of private life. Every traveller is struck with the numbers and military organisation of the civil functionaries in the pay of government, whom he meets at every step on the continent. It is, perhaps, the first feature in the different social economy of those countries which attracts his notice; but no traveller has given us any view of the amount, or any speculations on the social effects of this widely-spread functionarism.

I shall endeavour to point out the numbers of government functionaries in a given population in France, in order to obtain an approximation, at least, to the amount of this power in their social economy.

In 1830, the population of France is stated at 31,851,545 souls, which would give an average of 370,367 souls in each department. The chief towns of the eighty-six departments—that is, the towns in which the departmental courts and establishments are seated, contain together 2,273,939 souls, which allows on an average a population of 26,441 souls to each chief town,

Now, looking for an average department, and one which could be easily compared with one of our counties, I find the department of the Indre et Loire, containing 290,160 souls, and its chief town, Tours, 23,100 souls, as near an average as any; and it has the advantage for comparison, that at the same period, 1830, the shire of Ayr was in population as nearly equal to one-half of the population of the department of the Indre et Loire as we can expect, viz., the population of the county of Ayr was, according to the population returns, 145,055 souls, and of the county town, 11,626 souls, being also, as nearly as we can expect, one-half of the population of Tours, the chief town of the Indre et Loire. I take these two groups of populations, therefore, in preference to others. Now, what number of public functionaries are employed by the French government in the civil affairs of the 290,160 people inhabiting the department of the Indre et Loire?

This department is divided into three arrondissemens—so is the shire of Ayr into three districts, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham; the three arrondissemens are further divided into 25 cantons, and the 25 cantons into 292 communes, or civil parishes: the shire of Ayr, if I mistake not, reckons 46 parishes. In each of these 292 communes, are a mayor, adjunct, and municipal council.—The mayor presides over the public business; the adjunct acts as public prosecutor before the primary or lower local courts. But as the mayor and municipal council, and perhaps the adjunct, are not, I believe, offices paid by, although confirmed by government, but held by candidates expectant on the higher and paid offices, I do not reckon them, amounting to 584 persons, among the functionaries living in government pay and service; although, in as far as they are candidates for higher civil office, and depend on government for their future means of living, their influence on the social economy of the people is much the same as that of the classes of paid civil functionaries. Each of the 25 cantons has a primary local court, composed of 5 paid functionaries, making in all of paid officials 125. Each of the three arrondissemens is provided with an upper court with 10 paid officials, and that of the chief town with 20 clerks, officers, &c., included; in all 40. Thus for the administration of justice there are 165 persons who are paid functionaries, divided into 25 primary local courts, and 3 superior courts for the civil and

criminal business of a population just about double of that of the shire of Ayr. For the collection of the government taxes in the department of the Indre et Loire, the amount of functionarism is :—

Receivers of taxes	68
Inspectors, stamp masters, registrars	37
Directors and controllers of land tax	10
Measurers of land for land tax	12
Receivers of indirect taxes...	23
Receiver-general	1
Treasurer	1
Persons in offices connected with receipt of taxes—in all, functionaries	152

For the general government of this little imperium in imperio of a department, we have moreover :—

Monsieur le Préfet	1
Sous-préfets, one to each arrondissement...	3
Council of the Préfet	3
Chiefs of bureaux	6
Keepers of archives	2
Officers of roads, bridges, and mines	6
Officers of woods and waters	6
Officers of weights and measures...	3
Officers of affairs of the mint	3
Officers of the national lottery	2
Officers of the post-office	26
	61

Being 15 paid functionaries for general government, and 46 paid functionaries for different branches of public business which government chooses to centralize in its own management.

The grand total of functionarism in a district of about double of the population of the county of Ayr is :—

Paid functionaries connected with the administration of law	165
Paid functionaries connected with receipt of taxes	152
Paid functionaries for general government	15
Paid functionaries for other government business	46
Paid functionaries in all, for a population of 290,160 souls	378

and this is exclusive of the establishment of the douane or custom-house, which in the frontier provinces has very numerous establishments, and even forms a regular military cordon on duty night and day, and exclusive of the whole executive police or gendarmerie who patrol the roads, and have posts all over the country, and exclusive of the whole establishments for the conscript system, and its necessary accompaniment the passport system, which give employment to an army of clerks and func-

tionaries in the bureaux in every town, and exclusive also of the whole educational establishment, of which the patronage is in the hands of government. Monsieur de Tocqueville reckons the total amount of functionarism in France—that is, of civil appointments under government, at 138,000 offices, costing yearly 200 millions of francs. Taking the population of 1830 at 31,851,455 souls, this gives one paid functionary to every 230 persons. But this does not give a just view of the influence and extent of the principle of functionarism in the social economy of France. The functionary is an adult male, with fixed income, and is, therefore, either head of a family or in a social position equivalent to the head of a family; and the figures of the population represent the infants, aged, infirm, and females, as well as the effective adult male members of the community. In a just view of the proportion of functionarism in the social economy of France, one family in every 46 lives by functionarism, and at the public expense; there is one functionary family for every 46 families of the people.

Now let us reckon the amount of functionarism in the Scotch county of Ayr, containing, as nearly as possible, one-half of the population of the French department of the Indre et Loire. A Scotch county is selected in preference to an English, because, in Scotland, the feudal law, and feudal arrangements of society, are similar in principle to those which prevailed on the Continent before the changes in social economy produced by the French revolution; but to the social economy of England, in which the administration of law, the police of the country, the roads, the public business of every kind, are under the management of the people themselves, and not of the general government of the country, nothing analogous exists or ever existed on the Continent,—no social arrangements whatsoever similar in principle. In the English county of Suffolk, for instance, containing 296,317 souls, being 6857 more than the population of the French department of the Indre et Loire, excepting in the post-office department, and those of the excise, customs, and stamps, no public functionaries, or very few—not perhaps in all half-a-dozen—could be pointed out, who live by paid offices, to which they are appointed by the government. The unpaid magistracy, the unpaid constables, the unpaid sheriffs, lord-lieutenants, &c., do all the duties which the host of functionaries in France, living upon the public in the proportion of one family in every 46, do in this French department. Person and

property are not less safe, criminal offence not more common in Suffolk, than in this French department of equal population. The moral effects, therefore, of each system on the habits and minds of the people must be compared, before judgment is given for, or against either system : that of interference, centralisation, and surveillance by government as in the French system ; and that of non-interference, and leaving all to be done by the people, as well as for the people, in social business, as in the English.

But to return to the shire of Ayr. For the administration of law in civil and criminal affairs there are of paid functionaries :—

The sheriff depute, the equivalent to the préfet, as an organ of the executive government, and with his resident substitute, the procurator fiscal, and the sheriff clerk with 3 deputies, the equivalent of the 165 functionaries living by the administration of law in the French department ; being 7 persons in judicial functions.

In the collection of taxes in this county, the amount of functionarism appears to be :—

Collector of taxes, surveyor, collector of county rates	3
Distributor of stamps	1
Collector and comptroller of customs	2
Excise officers, collector, clerk, and supervisors	8
Postmasters living entirely on salary of office, suppose one in each town or village, in which sheriff or justice of peace courts are held	7
	21

The whole functionaries living by offices under government in the collection of taxes do not certainly exceed from 21 to 25 persons, and this number is the equivalent for 152 functionaries in a department of only double the population. Instead of 21 persons, the Scotch county would, on the French system of functionarism, have 76 persons living by public employment in the financial department of its business. To cover all possible omissions in this list of 21 public functionaries in a Scotch county, as from the mixed nature of their means of living, it would be difficult to determine exactly, who live entirely by public employment, and who live principally by the exercise of other trades or professions, but having some office, as postmasters, also, we shall state them at from 30 to 35 individuals ; and this number certainly does cover all persons having their livings in a Scotch county by public function in the administration of law, finance, and

civil government, which in a French department gives offices and livings to 278 paid functionaries. In the ratio of the population 189 paid functionaries in France live upon the public, by doing the duties which, at the utmost, from 30 to 35 paid functionaries live by doing in Scotland.

The effects upon the social condition of a people of the two distinct principles—that of doing every thing for the people by paid functionaries and government management, in a system of perfect centralisation—and that of doing every thing for the people by the people themselves, and with as little as possible of government agency—have never been satisfactorily examined by our political philosophers. We have tirades enough against the abuse of power in the hands of the unpaid magistracy of England, and examples enough of the abuse; but we have no impartial judgment given on the advantages and disadvantages of the system, compared to that of a paid body of judicial functionaries. Lord Brougham has frequently insisted on the great social benefit of bringing cheap law and justice home to every man's fireside; but that great political philosopher has never stated what this cheap law and justice would cost. The financial cost is not the principal or important cost in a system of extensive functionarism, but the moral cost, the deteriorating influence of the system on the industry, habits, and moral condition of the people. We see a tendency in our most enlightened and liberal statesmen—which is only held in check by the financial cost of indulging it—to centralize in the hands of government much of the public business, the local magistracy and police, the prosecution of offences, the care of the poor, the support of high roads, the education of the people, instead of leaving these duties to be, as heretofore, performed by the people for themselves.

A few of the effects of the functionarism, which necessarily overspreads these countries in which governments do what it should be left to the public spirit or the necessity of the people to do for themselves, are sufficiently visible, and may assist in solving the question

All this subsistence in the field of government employment, paralyses exertion in the field of private industry. This is an effect which the most unobserving traveller on the Continent remarks. The young, the aspiring, the clever, and the small capitalists in particular, look for success in life to government employment, to public function, not to their own activity and

industry in productive pursuits. With us, civil or military employment under government is scarcely seen, is nothing in the vast field of employment which professional, commercial, or manufacturing industry throws open to all. Abroad, all other employments are as nothing in extent, advantage, social importance, and influence, compared to employment under government. Functionarism has, in its effects on the industry and wealth of nations, replaced the monastic and overgrown clerical establishments of the middle ages. It was not the vast wealth of the Roman Catholic Church, and of its convents, monasteries, and other establishments, that was detrimental to the national wealth and prosperity of a country. These were but an additional wheel in the social machine. All that was received was again expended; and whether a bishop or a duke, an abbot or an earl received and expended the income derived from the same acres, could make no difference in national wealth. As receivers and expenders the clerical were perhaps better than the aristocratical landowners, because they understood husbandry better, and expended their revenues in peace, in their own fixed localities, by which a middle class beneath them was enabled to grow up. Still less was it, as Voltaire and the political economists of his days imagined, the celibacy of so many idle monks, and nuns, and clergy, and the want of population by their celibacy, that was injurious to the prosperity of catholic countries. The celibacy of the Popish clergy is in no other way injurious to a nation than that a single man can live upon less than a man with a family, and that, consequently, many more individuals can obtain a living in an unproductive profession as the clerical (considered economically) is, from the same amount of church revenue, than if all in the profession were married. Our church extensionists ought, in consistency, to advocate the celibacy of the clerical order amongst us, because the same revenues of the church—either of the church of England, or of the church of Scotland—would thereby support three times the number of effective clergy and in equal comfort; the expense of a family being at least three times greater on an average than that of a single man, and it is church endowments, and not the mere dead stone and lime work of buildings, that are necessary in true and effective church extension. But it was neither the wealth, nor the numbers, nor the celibacy of the Popish clergy, that made them in the middle ages, and make them at this day in all catholic lands, detrimental to national wealth and prosperity. It

was, and is, the amount of easy living, of social importance and influence, which the clerical employment offered, and which naturally turned, exactly as functionarism on the Continent does at present, all the youth of abilities, and with small capitals to defray the expense of education, to a clerical living, instead of to industrial pursuits. We see even in Scotland, in remote parts, that the ease with which, during the last war, clerical students could accomplish the little that country presbyteries required in studies at the university, and could slip into a kirk, turned away from the broad paths of worldly industry many who ought to have been sitting behind the loom, or the desk, and whose talent extended just to finding out and securing a good pulpit livelihood.

Abroad the employment under government, in the present age, attracts to it, as the church of Rome did in the middle ages, all the mind, industry, and capital of the middle classes, on whom the wealth and prosperity of a country are founded. The little capitals stored up in those classes are saved, not to put out their young men as with us, into various industrial pursuits, and with suitable means to carry them on, or to extend the original branch of business in which the family capital was acquired, but, to support their sons while studying and waiting for a living by public function, in some of the numerous departments of government employment. It may be reasonably doubted if the Popish church, in the darkest period of the middle ages, abstracted so many people, and so much capital from the paths and employments of productive industry, as the civil and military establishments of the Continental governments do at the present day in France and Germany. The means also of obtaining a livelihood in monkish or clerical function were less demoralising to the public mind and spirit; for some kind of intellectual superiority, or self-denial or sacrifice, was required, and not merely as in functionarism—barefaced patronage.

National character partakes of the spirit which the main object of pursuit among a people produces in individuals. It is at the hand of government, by favour and patronage, and through subservience to those in higher function, that the youth of the Continent look for bread and future advancement. All independence of mind is crushed, all independent action and public spirit buried under the mass of subsistence, social influence, and honours, to be obtained in the civil and military functions under government on the Continent. It is to be observed, that, in time

of peace, the military service in most foreign countries is scarcely different from the civil. Having no distant colonies to garrison, no posts in unwholesome climates to occupy, no perpetual rotation at home from one quarter to another, but being generally stationed for many years in the same towns, the military act upon the industry of the country in the same way, and with the same effects, as the body of civil functionaries. Both together form a mass of subsistence, influence, and distinction, to be attained by other means than productive industry, and which smothers all exertion and spirit of independence in the industrial classes. The sturdy-minded English industrialist toils and slaves at his trade, to become some day an independent man, to be beholden to no one, to be master of his own time and actions, to be a free agent individually, acting and thinking for himself, both in his private, and, if he has any, in his public capacity or business. To this end he brings up his sons, and puts them out in the world with a trade, and with capital, if he has any, to attain this end. The dependence upon others for a living, the subserviency and seeking for favour, inherent in a functionary career, do not come within his sphere of action. A living by productive industry is, generally speaking, far more certain, and more easily obtained in our social system, in which military, clerical, and legal functions under government patronage, and a living in either of those branches of public employment, are rare, and altogether out of reach and out of sight of the middle classes in general, forming no object to the great mass of the industrialist-class to breed up their sons to. This is the great moral basis on which the national wealth, industry, and character of the English people rest; and is the only basis which can uphold real liberty in a country, or a social state, in which civil liberty, as well as political, free agency in private life, as well as free constitutional forms of government, can exist. The Germans and French never can be free people, nor very industrious, very wealthy nations, with their present social economy—with their armies of functionaries in civil employments, extending the desire and the means among the classes who ought to rely upon their own independent industry in the paths of trade and manufacture, of earning a living in public function by other means than their own productive industry. This universal dependence upon public function smothers at the root the growth of independent feeling, action, and industry.

Political liberty, the forms of a liberal legislative constitution,

the Continent may obtain ,- and France has, more than once, obtained such a constitution as opposed a considerable, and often a successful, check to the measures of the executive : yet with all this real political liberty, the French people have as yet no real civil liberty ; and, in consequence of the general diffusion of the spirit of functionarism through society, no idea of, or feeling for civil liberty. The private rights of individuals as members of the social union are every hour infringed upon by their social institutions, in a way which individuals, with any just feeling of independence and civil liberty, and with political liberty to give effect and reality to their sentiments, would never submit to. As an instance of the state of the public mind in France, and indeed all over the Continent, on the rights and civil liberty of the individual members of society, it is matter of leave and licence, of passport and police regulation, for the native Frenchman or German to move from place to place, or to exercise in many countries any kind of trade, profession, or means of living, within his own native land. The very elector going from Paris to his own home, to exercise perhaps the highest privilege of political liberty—his elective franchise, in voting for a representative to the chamber of deputies, has so little civil liberty, and so little idea of it, that he must apply for, and travel with a passport asked from, and signed by a government functionary. This is a caricature of liberty. It is liberty in chains, her charter in her hand, her paper cap of liberty on her head, and manacles on her feet.

The police of the country, the security of person and property, are, it is alleged, better provided for by this governmental surveillance over, and interference in all individual movement. The same argument would justify the locking up the population every night in public jails. Good police, and the security of person and property, however valuable in society, are far too dearly paid for by the sacrifice of private free agency involved in this ultra-precautionary social economy. The moral sense of right, and the individual independence of judgment in conduct, are superseded by this conventional duty of obedience to office. Men lose the sentiment of what is due to themselves by others, and to others by themselves ; and lose the sense of moral rectitude, and the habit of applying it to actions. A Frenchman or German would not think himself entitled to act upon his own judgment and sense of right, and refuse obedience to an order of a superior, if it were morally wrong ; nor would the public

feeling, as in England, go along with, and justify the individual who, on his own sense of right and wrong, refused to be an instrument of, or party to, any act not approved of by his moral sense. The spirit of subordination and implicit obedience, which we isolate and confine entirely to military service, enters on the Continent into civil life. The scenes of bloodshed in France, under the revolutionary government, could never have taken place among a people bred up in habits of moral free agency, and of reflecting independence of individual judgment on action. The instruments would have been wanting in the tribunals. The general moral sense would have opposed the enactment or fulfilment of such decrees.

The non-interference of government in our social economy with individual free-agency, and the intense repugnance and opposition to every attempt at such interference with the individual's rights of thinking and acting, have developed a more independent movement of the moral sense among the English people than among the Continental. It is their distinguished national characteristic. The individual Englishman, the most rude and uncivilised in manners, the most depraved in habits, the most ignorant in reading, writing, and religious knowledge; standing but too often lower than the lowest of other nations on all these points; will yet be found a man wonderfully distinct, and far above the educated Continental man of a much higher class, in his moral discrimination of the right or wrong in human action, far more decidedly aware of his civil rights as a member of society, and judging far more acutely of what he terms fair play, or of what is due to himself, and by himself, in all public or private relations or actions. It is the total absence of government interference, by superintendence and functionaries, in the stream of private activity and industry, that has developed, in a remarkable degree, this spirit of self-government, and the influence of the moral sense on action among the English. It is their education. We may call them uneducated, because they cannot read and write so generally as the Scotch, the French, or the Prussian people; but as men and citizens they have received a practical education, from the nature of their social arrangements, of a far higher kind and value than the French, the Prussian, or even the Scotch can lay claim to. They are far more independent moral agents in public and private affairs.

In France and Prussia, the state, by the system of function-

arism, stepped into the shoes of the feudal baron on the abolition of the feudal system; and he who was the vassal, and now calls himself the citizen, is, in fact, as much restrained in his civil liberty, and free-agency as a moral self-acting member of society, by state enactments, superfluous legislation, and the government-spirit of intermeddling by its functionaries in all things, as he was before by his feudal lords. The physical condition of the people of those countries has, beyond all doubt, been improved by the general diffusion of property through the social mass, and has advanced to a higher state of well-being and comfort than with us; but their civil and moral condition has not kept pace and advanced with it. They have the property, but their governments endeavour to retain the privileges which belong to property, the rights of individual free-agency in the moral and industrial use of it. These are two antagonistic powers in the social economy of the Continent. An unseen power called the State is held now, as it was in the most stringent days of the feudal system, to be the owner of all the materials of human industry, of all occupations, trades, and professions, of human industry itself, of all the deeds and thoughts of each individual, of his body and soul, it may be truly said; for instead of being free to do what law does not prohibit, he can do nothing lawfully but what law permits. He cannot engage in the simplest act of a free-agent in civil society without leave and licence, and being in some shape or other under the eye and regulation of this unseen proprietor of all earthly. He may, as in France, enjoy a considerable share of political liberty, that is, of a constitutional voice in the enactment of laws; but civil liberty, the uncontrolled freedom of action, and of the use of property, of body, and of mind, subject only to the most obvious and urgent necessity of interference by government to prevent evil to others—is as little enjoyed by him in the constitutional as in the despotic state; as little in Belgium or France, as in Prussia or Austria. The same principle of intrusion on the civil liberty of the subject pervades the social economy of all these states—interference is the rule, non-interference the exception. Yet of what value is political liberty, or the representative legislature, but to give and secure to every man the full and free enjoyment of his civil liberty? A free constitution is but a platform for political adventurers to declaim from, if it does not bring civil liberty into the social economy of a country.

The just conclusion is, that mere changes in the forms of government, and in the machinery and forms of legislation, will not suddenly, and as a necessary consequence, change the spirit of the people, and that in genuine liberty, in practical civil liberty, in the individual freedom of action and of mind, and the influences of this freedom on moral, intellectual, and national character, the people of the Continent are but little more advanced now than they were under Frederic the Great, or Louis XIV., or Napoleon. They are still slaves in the spirit and principles of their social economy. What they understand by liberty, and are clamorous for, is political liberty, not civil liberty, the instrument of liberty without its use, the outward forms without the spirit in their social economy.

But this is not always to be so. This is but the transition state of society just casting off the net-work of slavery in which the feudal system had for ages enveloped it. The vassal is now the proprietor, and in France at least more or less the legislator himself. It is his mind that is behind his social position. He is a proprietor without knowing the rights of property. The old feudal spirit still lingers in the regenerated governments and people; but the seed is sown, the leaven is working. Property will gradually take its own place, and assume its own rights in social affairs. It has been widely diffused by the effects of the French revolution through all ranks and classes of the social body of France and Germany. It is not merely property in land, but also personal property, capital, that has been spread among the people, and a spirit of industry, a feeling of individual independence, has naturally accompanied this diffusion of property. But the rights inseparable from industry and property—free agency, the uncontrolled use and exercise of them, are retained by government as a basis for the support of kingly power. The principle of government when land was almost the only influential property in society, and that was in the hands of a small privileged class deeply interested in the support of the source from which they derived their property and privileges, and held them exclusively, is transferred to a social state, in which land is in the hands of all, and no one class has any exclusive interests or rights derived from the crown and connected with land, to maintain. Owing to the natural and unextinguishable influences of property on the human mind, this can only do, either in France or Germany, until the public mind becomes educated and elevated up to its

social position, and along with the physical enjoyment and possession of property, claims also all that morally and politically belongs to the enjoyment and possession of property, viz., free-agency as individuals, self-government by representative constitutions as citizens. It is evident that one and the same principle as a support of uncontrolled kingly power, cannot be found equally effective in two such totally distinct combinations of society, as that of all land being concentrated in the hands of a small privileged class closely connected by every tie and motive with the crown, and that of the general diffusion of land among a population quite unconnected with it. The very fiction of law of the crown being the source from which the landed proprietor derives his rights, falls to the ground where the right is almost universal, and conveys no conventional privilege attached to such property, and where succession by primogeniture is abolished. The crown attempting to retain restrictions on the use and free enjoyment of property, after it has lost all connection with it, is in a false position.

Two distinct powers in society—the power of property and the kingly power—have thus, by the great convulsion of the French Revolution, been placed in a state of incompatible co-existence. They are two antagonist powers in the social economy of France, Prussia, and Northern Germany, two powers in opposition to, not in unison with each other. The rights of property, the free agency of the possessor in the use and application of it, the moral free agency of the individuals possessing it, their self-government and self-management of all that affects it, are natural prerogatives of the possessors of property which, where a whole nation are the proprietors, cannot be usurped to support, by dint of an unnatural system of functionarism extending over the prerogatives of property and the private rights of proprietors, a royal or imperial autocratic power in the community that has no exclusive rights or privileges now to bestow upon any class of proprietors. Such an usurpation of the rights of property, and of the natural prerogatives of proprietors, by the intrusion of functionarism into all the social relations, affairs, duties, and industrial movement of a people or proprietors, can be no stable or very long endured arrangement of the social economy of a country.

When this usurpation of the rights of property in the social economy of the Continent is removed, either by gradual steps or

by sudden convulsion, on what has kingly power to rest? A monarchical government and a democratical distribution of the landed and other property cannot exist together. They are antagonist elements in social economy.

The French Revolution, considered as the beginning of a radical, inevitable, and beneficial change in the physical, moral, and political condition of the European people, must be regarded by the social economist as a movement only in its commencement. It has left the Continental population in two very distinctly marked divisions. The one consists of the populations in which, with a few modifications and reforms not affecting the grand principle of their social economy, the old feudal arrangements of property, and the aristocratic basis of kingly power raised upon feudality, are retained. Austria is undoubtedly at the head of this division. The other consists of the populations which have adopted a new social economy in which the two corner-stones of feudality, primogeniture and hereditary privilege, are taken away, and kingly power has only the temporary basis of functionarism and military force for its support. France is at the head of this division. The diffusion of property, the abolition of privilege and primogeniture, and the introduction of functionarism as a substitute for aristocracy and a basis for the support of government, are all derived from the French Revolution; and Prussia entered voluntarily into the circle of the new social economy of this division, under the administration of Prince Hardenberg, in 1809.

It was found necessary, if Prussia was to preserve a national existence, to give the mass of the population that interest in the defence of the country which was totally wanting under the feudal distribution of the land into noble estates cultivated by the forced labour of serfs. The following sketch will explain imperfectly the amount of change in the state of landed property in Prussia produced by this measure.

Previous to 1800 landed property was, on the greater part of the Continent, divided into noble or baronial, and peasant, roturier, or not noble holdings. The former class of estates could only be held by nobility, and had many unjust exemptions from public burdens, and many oppressive privileges attached to them. These baronial estates, by far the greatest in extent, had the peasantry who were born on the land *adscripti glebæ;* had a right to their labour every day for the cultivation of the domain; had civil and criminal jurisdiction over them in the

baronial court of the estate; had a baronial judge, a baronial prison on the estate to incarcerate them, and a bailiff to flog them for neglect of work or other baronial offences. These slaves were allowed cottages with land upon the outskirts of the estate, and cultivated their own patches in the hours or days when their labour was not required on the barony lands. They paid tithes and dues out of their crops to the minister, the surgeon, the schoolmaster, and the barony or local judge who resided on the estate, and was appointed by the proprietor as patron both of the church and of the court of the barony, but out of the number of examined jurists, or students of law, who were candidates for these local judgeships.

This is, for the system is not abolished altogether, the great object of the numerous body of law students at the German universities. The local judge is, like the minister, with a fixed and comfortable salary not depending on the will of the patron, and he is a servant of the state revised by, and reporting to, the higher local judicatories, and with promotion opened to him from the local baronial to the higher courts of the country.

If the serf deserted, he was brought back by the military, who patrolled the roads for the purpose of preventing the escape of peasants into the free towns, their only secure asylum, and were imprisoned, fed on bread and water in the black hole, which existed on every baronial estate, and flogged. The condition of these born-serfs was very similar to that of the negro slaves on a West India estate during the apprenticeship term, before their final emancipation. This system was in full vigour up to the beginning of the present century, and not merely in remote and unfrequented corners of the Continent, but in the centre of her civilisation; all round Hamburgh and Lubeck for instance, in Holstein, Schleswig, Hanover, Brunswig, and over all Prussia. Besides these baronial estates with the born-serfs attached to them, there were Bauern Hofe, or peasant estates, which held generally of some baron, but were distinct properties, paying as feu duties or quit-rents so many days' labour in the week, with other feudal services and payments to the feudal superior. The acknowledgment of these as distinct legal properties not to be recalled so long as the peasant performed the services and payments established either by usage or by writings, was the first great step in Prussia towards the change in the condition of the peasantry. It was stretched so far as to include the serfs located on the outskirts of the barony, and paying daily

labour for their patches of land, and who originally were intended by the proprietor to be his servants and day labourers for cultivating his mains or home farmed land, but who, by long usage and occupations for generations, had become a kind of hereditary tenants, not to be distinguished from those occupants acknowledged to be proprietors, or what we would call copyholders. Prince Hardenberg's energetic administration made all these occupants the absolute proprietors of their several holdings, for the yearly payment of the quit rents they had been paying to the baronial proprietor, and had these quit rents, whether paid in labour or other services, or in grain, valued by commissioners at fixed moderate rates, and had them commuted and bought up from the dominant property, under inspection of the commissioners, by the surrender to it of a portion of the land of the servient property, if the peasant had no money for the purchase of the redemption. This great and good measure, which was projected and carried into effect by Stein and Hardenberg in a succession of edicts, from that of October 9, 1807, up to June 7, 1821, is the great and redeeming glory of the reign of Frederic William III., and, like all great and good measures, was accomplished with much less difficulty than was anticipated. Feudality had become effete. A strong and vigorous exertion was necessary to give the people something to defend—some material interest in the country. By this measure, Prussia was at once covered with a numerous body of small proprietors, instead of being held by a small privileged class of nobility.

This revolution in the state of property was almost as great as that which had taken place in France, and it is pregnant with the same results and tendencies. It gave comfort, well-being, property, to a population of serfs. It emancipated them from local oppression, raised their moral and physical condition, gave them a political, although as yet unacknowledged, existence, as the most important constituent element of the social body. But here the Prussian Revolution has stopped short of the French. It gave no political liberty or influence under any form, no representative constitution to those to whom it had given clear and distinct property, and consequently the feelings, influences on the human mind, and the requirements which the possession of property brings along with it. The people hold the property, and the crown, by its system of functionarism and military organisation, endeavours to hold all the rights and

prerogatives belonging to, and morally and socially essential to property, all the civil and political liberties of the proprietors of the country.

As a necessary sequence of the emancipation of the country population from feudal services to the noble landowner, the town populations were emancipated from the restrictions and privileges of their feudal lords, viz., the incorporation of trades and burgesses. Every man became entitled to be admitted to the rights of burgess or citizen on paying a certain fixed sum (in Berlin it is thirty thalers) for his burgess ticket, and entitled, whether he has or has not served an apprenticeship, to exercise any calling or trade. This second step completed the change in the social economy of Prussia, and altogether obliterated its former character of feudality as far as regarded the people, although the government still clings to the feudal principle of autocracy, without any representation of the proprietors of the country. If these were small privileged classes of nobility, and incorporated bodies, interwoven with royalty, as under the old feudal arrangements of society, and kept by exclusive privileges and distinctions apart from the main body of a people, and closely united to each other and to the crown by every tie of interest and honour, this order of things might, although opposed to the spirit of the times, and to the gradual but great advance of society in an opposite direction, linger on, as in Austria and other feudally constituted countries, in a feeble existence, waiting the blast that is to overturn it. But in a whole nation of proprietors, it is a false social economy—an order of things too unnatural to be stable.

In France, the body of proprietors possessing the land of the country obtained a portion at least of political liberty, a representation, by a part at least, of their own body in the legislature, and may, without any very violent convulsion, give themselves hereafter the civil liberty they still want, in proportion as the public mind becomes prepared to cast off the trammels on individual liberty and free agency imposed by functionarism and government interference. Prussia has not taken this step, and is now in the false position of holding fast by a power which has no roots in the new social economy she has adopted. The government has cast loose the absolute kingly power from its sheet-anchor, the feudal system, and is now clinging to the twig of functionarism to save itself from being hurried along with the stream of social improvement.

France and Prussia should be viewed by the social economist consecutively. They have the same two antagonistic principles in their social economy, although in France the ultimate predominance of the power of property over absolute kingly power will not long be doubtful. Functionarism in France, enormous as it is, will be broken down as a state element for the support of kingly power, by the element of popular power demanding a constitution, a Chamber of Deputies. But in Prussia the people have no feeling for legislative power, no demand for a representative chamber, and are abjectly patient under the total want of civil and political liberty. Property, and a prodigious social reform have been thrust upon them by their government in a kind of speculation on improvement, rather than attained by any invincible desire of their own, or by any national struggle for their ameliorated social condition. All has been done for them, not by them; and they enjoy the physical good this change has brought them, like a body of emancipated slaves who receive their own natural rights as gifts from their former masters, and sit down in grateful contentment. The kingly power, both in Prussia and France, seems aware of its false position, and anxious to reconstruct an order of hereditary aristocracy endowed with entailed landed property and privilege, as a social power for the support of monarchy. But in social economy, as in human life, the *nulla pes retrorsum* is the principle of nature. The abolition of primogeniture, and the consequent diffusion of landed property through society, have morally, as well as territorially, done away with the class of privileged feudal aristocracy as an influential social element in both countries. It would be the show, not the reality, of a nobility that could be re-established now in Prussia or in France. The social position and importance of an hereditary aristocracy are, besides, filled up by the new social power—the body of functionaries in the social arrangements which have sprung up from the ashes of the French Revolution.

CHAPTER IV.

PRUSSIA.—NOT CONSTITUTING ONE NATION.—PRUSSIAN POLICY IN THIS CENTURY.—ATTEMPT TO FORM NATIONAL CHARACTER.—WHY NOT SUCCESSFUL.—MILITARY ORGANISATION OF PRUSSIA.—LIABILITY TO MILITARY SERVICE OF ALL PRUSSIANS.—SERVICE IN THE LINE.—IN THE ARMY OF RESERVE.—FIRST DIVISION.—SECOND.—EFFECTS OF THE SYSTEM ON THE POLITICAL BALANCE OF EUROPE.—ITS ADVANTAGES.—ITS DISADVANTAGES COMPARED TO A STANDING ARMY.—ITS GREAT PRESSURE ON TIME AND INDUSTRY.—ITS INFERIORITY AS A MILITARY FORCE.—AMOUNT OF MILITARY FORCE OF PRUSSIA.—DEFECT IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMIES.—NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.—MEN.—TOO DELICATELY BRED IN THE PRUSSIAN ARMY.—LONGEVITY OF OFFICERS.—THE PROBABLE ISSUE OF A WAR BETWEEN PRUSSIA AND FRANCE.—POLICY OF ENGLAND IF SUCH A WAR ARISE.

THE Prussians are not nationalised by those moral influences which bind men together into distinct communities. They are, not like the English, the French, the Spaniards, a people distinct in character, spirit, and modes of living—a nation unamalgamated and unamalgamable with others. They have no national language, literature, or character; no old established customs, manners, traditions, modes of living and thinking, laws, rights, or institutions of ancient times peculiar to, and distinctive of Prussians. Their history as a nation is but of yesterday, and is not properly their history, but that of the sovereigns of a small part of the present Prussia—of Brandenburg—who beginning the world about a century ago with a margraveship of about one and a half million of subjects, have, by good luck and military talent, gathered together a kingdom of shreds and patches of other countries, containing about fourteen millions of people. These have no national history of ancient times common to all, or to a majority of Prussians, and connecting the present with the past by feelings of veneration and hereditary attachment. Prussia has, in ordinary parlance, only a geographical or political meaning, denoting the Prussian government, or the provinces it governs —not a moral or social meaning. The Prussian nation is a combination of words rarely heard, of ideas never made, the population not being morally united by any common sentiment or spirit of nationality distinguishing them in character, mind, or habits, from the other German populations around them, the

Austrian, Bavarian, Saxon, or Hanoverian. The German populations have never been distinguished by any strong spirit of nationality. They have always been divisible, like a flock of sheep, into any parcels at the pleasure of their shepherds, without vigorous indications of such national distinctiveness, character, and feelings of their own, as might render their division, and amalgamation with other groups, dangerous or impracticable. To remedy this defect in their social structure, to kindle a spirit of nationality, form a national character, and raise a Prussian nation bound together by moral influences, like the French or English, as well as by mere territorial and political arrangements, is the great under-principle which has run through all the domestic policy of the Prussian government in this century. Frederic the Great had no higher policy than to retain the territories he had acquired by the means which acquired them—a strong standing army and a military system superior to that of other powers. His successors adhered to the same policy; but the first shock with the armies of a people animated by national spirit dissolved the dull German delusion, that drill and discipline alone are sufficient in modern warfare to replace the higher moral influences. Germans against Germans, monarch against monarch, in a scramble for territory, and the people in apathy and indifference, and with no interest at issue, the contending potentates made conquests according to the number of their highly-disciplined troops. War was really what it was often compared to, a game at chess, in which the royal gamesters could calculate upon the powers and effect of each piece, and move. The French wars from 1794 to 1814 wrought a mighty change in this royal game, and made every cabinet of the old school feel, that, with national sentiment kindled by moral influences, no people can be subdued, and without it none can be secure. The alteration in Prussia of the law and holding of landed property, and the subversion of the ancient feudal relations between the peasantry and the nobility—a change almost as great in the state of property, and altogether as great in the structure of society, as the revolution produced in France; the new military system by which the people themselves became the only standing army; the new educational system, by which government has in its own hands the training of the mind and opinions of the public through its own functionaries; the new ecclesiastical system, by which the two branches of the Protestant church, the Lutheran and Calvinist, are joined together, and blended into one

different from both, the Prussian church; the German custom-house union, or commercial league, centralising in Prussia the management of the commercial and manufacturing industry connected with the supply of the other German populations, and raising a Prussian dominancy over the industrial pursuits of the rest of Germany, are so many steps towards the one great object of imbuing the Prussian population with those moral influences, without which a population is not a nation, and on which national greatness, independence, and even existence, depend. To what extent has this great experiment been successful? this solitary attempt on the old continent—analogous to that which has been so successful on the new—to form a national character, to kindle a national spirit, to convert a mass of individuals of different origins, languages, religions, histories, laws, customs, into a nation. The American cement, the main ingredient in the American cement, is totally wanting in Prussia—freedom, the uncontrolled freedom of industry, property, mind, and person, without interference of the government by laws to the enactment of which the people are no party, and by a system of functionarism which supersedes free agency in all civil and even many domestic relations of life, and extinguishes the moral influences and national spirit which the government wishes to kindle, leaving the people a passive mass in the hands of their rulers. The Prussian government has taken one step, and is afraid to take the next which naturally and unavoidably must follow the first, and lives in an unavailing struggle to reconcile things irreconcilable with each other—a supreme interference of the state in all human action and opinion among her subjects, with the activity, industry, and prosperity, the national character, public spirit, and patriotism, which a people only attain where action and opinion are free and uncontrolled.

The present military organisation of the subjects of Prussia is one of the most important features in the social economy of the Continent. It has been adopted, with more or less rigour in its application, by almost all the secondary European powers, and its principle and spirit enter into all the civil as well as the military arrangements of those countries, and extend an influence over the whole social condition of the European population, much more extensively than any other military system has done since the decay of the feudal. The system of standing armies which preceded it, and which still exists with us, entered but slightly as an element in the social economy of a country. The

classes who had to furnish recruits to it either by enlistment or impressment, more or less concealed under the forms of a ballot, suffered a loss of the members thus abstracted from civil life; but that was almost the only effect on the social economy of the mass of the population, excepting the taxation, more or less heavy in different countries, necessary for supporting a standing army totally distinct from the people. It is a singular historical fact, that Prussia has twice within these hundred years furnished the model on which almost all the other European powers have formed their military force, even to the most minute details. The former military system of Prussia, as it was left in its highest perfection by Frederic the Great to his successors, was one of harsh and brutifying discipline, enforced by the cudgel over trembling squads of serfs trained into mere movable machines. The first shock with the undisciplined troops of the French republic proved that this system was false, that humanity was not to be outraged with impunity in the formation of armies, and that mind and moral influences were superior elements even in modern tactics to the deadening discipline of the corporal's stick. The whole of the European armies formed, even to the shape of their buttons, upon this Prussian model, were by numberless defeats totally disorganised. It is not the least of the benefits resulting from the French revolutionary wars, that a more humane spirit of military discipline, a greater consideration for the mind and rights of the soldier as a human being, and a greater dependence upon the spirit and moral influences than upon a forced mechanical movement, have been introduced in consequence of these defeats into the military system of every country.

The new military system of Prussia, as established by edicts of 3rd September, 1814, and 21st November, 1815, has been adopted by almost all the secondary European powers. By this system* every subject between the ages of 20 and 25 years, without distinction of fortune, birth, class, or intended profession, is bound to serve as a private soldier in the ranks of the standing army for a period of three successive years. From this obligation only the most obvious incapacity from bodily or mental defect or infirmity can excuse any individual, and that incapacity must be examined and admitted by the local board of commissioners for military affairs, whose proceedings are reported

* Gesetze ueber die Militair Pflichtigkeit. Berlin, 1840.

to, and watched over by, a superior provincial board, and both report upon every claim for exemption to the war department. By the construction of these boards it is impossible that favour, partiality, or local interest can screen any individual from his turn for entering the service for three years—which turn is determined by lot, drawn by those who are between the prescribed years, viz., between 20 and 25 years of age—nor from serving his three years in that particular branch of service or regiment, for which, from stature, constitution, or previous occupation, he may be best adapted. Officers from each branch of service—of the guards, artillery, cavalry, and infantry—attend these boards at their sittings, for this selection. In order not to press too severely on the professions or occupations incompatible with such a long period of military service, certain exemptions on account of the social position of the individual are allowed by favour, and on certificate from the proper authorities, so as to reduce the period of service in a regiment of the line from three years to one year, the individual thus favoured being at the expense of his own clothing and accoutrements. But such exemption is the exception, not the rule; is not matter of right, but of favour; and also of political convenience, when the ranks of the standing army are already sufficiently full. After this service of three years in a regiment of the line or standing army, the individual returns on leave of absence as a supernumerary, liable to rejoin his regiment in case of war; but upon attaining his 26th year, after his three years' service, he is discharged from the lists of the standing army into the army of reserve, and into that division of it which is called erster Aufgeboths, or first for service. This is the real army of the country, being composed entirely of soldiers of three years' training, and between the ages of 26 and 32 years. The standing army is the formation-school for the population. One third of its numbers is discharged every autumn into this division of the army of reserve, and replaced in spring out of the population by the local and provincial boards of commissioners. The army of reserve is called out for exercise and field manœuvres for fourteen days every year, which however is sometimes extended to four weeks. The individual after his 32nd year is turned over from this first division to the second division (zweiten Aufgeboths) of the army of reserve. In case of war, this division would not take the field, but would do garrison duty, as being composed generally of men with families, and more advanced in life, and also of half-invalids who had been found unfit for severer

duty. After his 49th year, the individual is turned over into the land-sturm, or levy *en masse*, which is only mustered or exercised in its own locality, and would only be called out in case of actual invasion, or domestic tumult. The whole land is thus one vast camp, the whole population one army. Every man, in every station of life, and in every locality, is a drilled soldier, who knows his regiment, his company, his squad, his military place in it, and appears under arms at his rendezvous for duty, with as little delay or confusion, and as complete in all military appointments, as a soldier of any standing army quartered in cantonments. The admirable precision and arrangement with which all the equipments of each portion of the army of reserve are placed in convenient depôts, and head-quarters over the country, for the inhabitants of each locality belonging to that force, prevent any confusion in the working of this vast and admirably arranged military system. Standing armies, composed of men enlisted, or impressed, for an unlimited period of service, or for a period long enough to separate them from the rest of society almost entirely, to detach them as a class from all the ties and habits of civil life, exist now only in Russia, Austria, France, and England. Prussia, and all the secondary powers, have dropped this kind of military force. In France six years, and in Austria eight years, are the terms of service for the conscript drawn by ballot for the army; and lately the period is extended to eight years in France; and, as far as regards the individual's habits and ties, this is almost equivalent to unlimited service. All the other European powers have organised their military force upon the Prussian principle; and this has imperceptibly altered most essentially their relative political importance, and the weight of Prussia in European affairs; and particularly has become an element in the social structure, and in the political balance of power of the European states, of great interest to the political philosopher observant of those silent changes which come over civilised society unremarked, until on some sudden crisis they produce striking effects. This national army of the Prussian system appears to be the cheapest, the most effective, and most valuable military force, a country can keep. Its cheapness, indeed, in proportion to its great numerical strength, and to the fine and efficient appearance under arms, to which good arrangement and discipline have brought this force in Prussia, has led to the almost general adoption of the system on the Continent. The soldiery are only in pay during the period

they are embodied, that is, during the three years' service in the line, when they may be considered as learning their military duty, and, afterwards, only during the few weeks yearly of army of reserve service, when the troops are assembled for field manœuvres, in great masses, in different points of the kingdom. Our military men who gallop about at these grand Prussian reviews declare unanimously their admiration of the appearance, movements, manœuvres, and military excellency of the Prussian army; and its drill and equipments, as well as its organisation, have become a model for other troops, almost as generally as they were at the commencement of the revolutionary war, before the onset of troops far less exquisitely drilled and dressed than the old Prussian army, settled the real value in the field of this parade perfection for half a century.

This kind of military force, however, if duly weighed in all its bearings on the community by the political economist, will be found in reality the most expensive and ruinous, instead of the cheapest, a country can support. It is an enormous pressure, a ruinous tax, in reality, upon the industry of a nation—a reckless waste of the property—of the time and labour which constitute the property—of the labouring and middle classes, and which reduces, and for ever keeps down the people, to a state of poverty. Look at its working among those classes. Take, for instance, a lad of two and twenty, who has just learnt his business as a carpenter, smith, weaver, or other handicraft, and then for three years, the three most valuable years in his life for acquiring steady habits of work, and manual dexterity and skill in his trade, put him into a regiment of the line in a distant part of the country to live the idle life of a soldier for three years, away from the advice or control of his friends, and without seeing or handling the implements of the trade he was bred to. What kind of operative tradesman, or head of a family, is such an education to produce? But after three years' service, he finds his way home, resumes his original trade, marries, and from 25 to 48 years of age, that is, for 23 years, he has to give at the least two weeks yearly—I believe it is more usually four weeks—to his army of reserve duty. Now, if we take the working years of such a man to be 40, that is, from 22 to 62 years of age, we have 14,600 working days in his life, including, however, Sundays, holidays, sickness-days, and drunkenness-days; and out of this gross capital of 14,600 days, this man's military duty of three years' service in the line, and 14 days for 23 years

afterwards in the army of reserve, takes away 1417 days, or just about 10 per cent. of his operative life. It is equivalent to a property tax of 10 per cent., taking the lowest data of calculation, upon the labour and industry of the working, producing classes of the nation; and observe, it is not 10 per cent. on the value only of the produce of the time, labour, and industry of the people, that is consumed by those governments, but one-tenth of the productive powers themselves—of the very time and labour of the people. Nor is this all. It is in the good weather half-year, in the drilling and reviewing season only, that many kinds of out-door labour, and many sorts of crafts can be carried on to advantage; and besides the greater severity of winter in Prussia, and generally on the Continent, the extent of country, and the consequent inferiority of cross-roads and facilities of transport, impede industry and business, during the bad weather half-year, to a degree unknown in our compact, well roaded land. The working man's time is worth double to him at the very season it is taken from him by his government for drills and parades. The system is incompatible with a progressive condition of a people, with any considerable growth of national wealth, or any extensive development of manufacturing industry. The labouring man cannot raise his condition to the middle class; scarcely can he gather savings for old age. The middle class is formed under this system of taxation on time and labour, not by the rise of individuals from the lower class, as in our social system, but by the breaking down of the class above itself. The German military system, and the German commercial league, are at direct variance with each other. If the former prevail, and continue to devour the only basis of national wealth and prosperity—the time and labour of the people—the latter will linger in a forced existence, and gradually die away. If the latter prevail, and Germany become in reality a thriving, industrious, manufacturing country, this military system, and the whole system of interference of the Continental governments with the people in all their doings, engendered by it, must fall to the ground. Many conceive, theoretically, that it must be the great safeguard of the liberties of a country, its best protection from tyranny, that the whole people have arms in their hands and know how to use them. This may be true, if political liberty alone, that is, the form or constitution of a free government, be all that is understood by liberty, and if the people have got the forms of a free government,

which they have not in Prussia; but if civil liberty—the right of every individual to the free use of his mental and bodily powers, and to his own free agency as a moral and social being, subject only to such restrictions as he himself has concurred in, and imposes by his own representatives, for the general good—be the end, and political liberty only the means, then this is not true of such a military organisation of a whole people. It is sacrificing their civil liberty—which is the great end and object of free institutions—for their political liberty, if they had any, for the defence of a share in the forms of legislation. It is paying for the saddle, and leaving nothing to buy the horse.

It is stated by a statistical writer, Jancigny, as an approximation to the proportion of the military to the population of different countries, that in Russia 1 in 57 of the population is serving as a soldier; in Prussia 1 in 80; in Austria 1 in 118; in France 1 in 122; and in England 1 in 320. But in this statistical approximation, the writer forgets the most important element in it, as far as regards the industry, morals, and habits of a people, viz., that in England this 1 represents a whole military generation. As long as this 1 lasts, the 320 do not furnish another 1 to fill his place as a soldier, and when they do, it is 1 who can be spared, whose social condition allows him to enlist. In Russia it appears to be the same—the 1 represents a whole military generation. In Austria and France, the 1 represents 8 years, and 6 years respectively, during which periods the 1 is not replaced out of the body of the community; and as, after 6 or 8 years of military service, many soldiers have lost all civil ties and means of earning a living, and re-engage as substitutes for those drawn to replace them, the system is nearly equivalent in practice to the English and Russian. But in Prussia the 1 represents only 3 years. He is then thrown back, with his half military, half civil habits, into the mass of the community, and another 1 is taken out of the 80, without regard to his social position or relation to others, to be demoralised by the same process. By demoralised, it is not here meant that the soldier is necessarily a less moral man than the civilian, but that his habits of industry and steady application to work, and his knack or skill in his trade, are necessarily deranged; and in this sense his military service demoralises him for civil utility. His mind and habits, as well as his manual dexterity and aptitude, are injured. The operative, taken away from his factory, where his individual intelligence and dexterity may often be most import-

ant to its prosperity, to be drilled and lead a military life for three years, and afterwards yearly for several weeks, returns with his habits, mind, and hand, *out*, as workmen express it, when they resume their tools after long disuse. He is no competitor against a workman in the uninterrupted exercise of his handicraft all his life.

A public trained in the habits of military life are, also, bad consumers, as well as bad producers. The whole community necessarily brings from the ranks the rough tastes and habits easily satisfied with rude production, and very little of it, which are inseparable from the condition of the common soldier, whatever class he may have been originally drawn from. As consumers, they do not bring into the home market the almost fastidious and finical taste for, and estimate of fine workmanship, superior material, and perfect finish, which is a principal element in the superiority of one manufacturing country over another.

Notwithstanding the testimony of all military officers to the fine appearance and efficiency of the Prussian troops, it is reasonable to believe that men who know that they are only tied to their military service in the line for three years, and are hankering after their civil occupations, and counting the days until they can return to their homes, are, as soldiers, not equal to men who have no connection with civil life, no ties, cares, hopes, property, or domicile, beyond their military position. This seems to be a point in human nature, on which others as well as military men are able to form an opinion; and as immediately previous to 1794, the testimony of all the military officers of Europe ran quite as high in favour of the efficiency of the Prussian army, as then constituted, such testimony to its superiority as now constituted cannot be received as altogether infallible. Regiments of the line almost totally renewed in the course of three years, with one-third of their strength always raw recruits, and their oldest soldiers, generally speaking, of less than three years' standing, can scarcely be equal to old regiments of seasoned soldiers, although they may be pattern regiments for drill, dress, and good arrangement; and regiments of reserve, although consisting of soldiers of three years' standing, if only embodied for a few days or weeks in summer, are after all only a good militia. England, Russia, France, and Austria, have adopted a far cheaper military system for society, one better for the civil liberty of the people, and probably one better too

for having effective troops, by taking a proportion of the people by voluntary enlistment, or by forced conscriptions, and keeping the same individuals always, or as long as they are fit for service, embodied as an army, relieving the rest, the great body of the community, altogether from the heavy annual tax on their time and industry, which presses on the people in Prussia and the other German States. These scape-goats for the rest of the community form, probably, more effective soldiers individually; and collectively are, without doubt, a more effective military power in the hands of a government. The whole population of a monarchy, organised, drilled, disciplined, regimented, ready and effective at a call to fight for king and country, sounds remarkably well in a school boy's oration, or a newspaper paragraph. But look closely into the thing. A modern army is a political machine, composed of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, in the hands of a state, and movable at its pleasure; and unless this machine be not only perfect in all its parts, but movable and disposable for offensive, aggressive operation, as well as for mere defence of its native land, it is of no real political weight in Europe. Does the Prussian system fulfil these conditions of an effective, political, military power? Is it perfect in all its parts, or only as perfect as the nature of its formation allows it to be? Artillery and cavalry, the most essential parts of this machine, can scarcely be formed at all in less than three years, we are told by our most experienced officers who have written on tactics; and in these services the man is part and parcel of his horse, or of his gun. He has not, like the infantry soldier, a value independent of other things; but out of connection and practice with the identical gun, horse, and squad he is trained to work with, he is but part of a tool, the stock of a firelock, the handle only of a hammer. It is evident there can be no perfection in these two important branches of military power in such militia troops.

Is such a military machine as that of Prussia movable and disposable? Is it a military force which could be shipped to attack or to garrison distant colonies—and without colonies Germany can scarcely become what German politicians fondly dream of, a great commercial power—or to carry on such a war as France has now on her hands in Africa, or as Russia wages in the Caucasus, or even to carry on a few campaigns in Germany itself, or in the Netherlands? If Hanover were to occupy the Duchy of Brunswig, or France to invade the Baden or Hessian

provinces on the Rhine, or to get up a war in the East, is the Prussian national army, constituted as it is, a military force which could be freely used in a succession of campaigns, like any other political military force, on such ordinary political occasions nowise affecting directly the safety of Prussia? Or is this military machine defensive only, and, from its composition, of no weight or value as an available offensive power? Prussia was called upon by sound policy, and the ties of kindred, to prevent the dismemberment of the kingdom of the Netherlands, and to extinguish the Belgian Revolution; and a few disposable regiments sent to Brussels to support the King of Holland—on the same principle that Austria sends a few regiments on every alarm into the Papal or Neapolitan states—would have turned the scale. At the siege of Antwerp, Prussia was obviously called upon in honour to take a part, when a French force was actually in the field against her allies the Dutch. A good cause was not wanting, nor evidently was the will wanting on the part of the Prussian royal family and cabinet: but the means, the machinery of an aggressive military power movable at the pleasure of the state, for any purpose, for any length of time, and to any quarter, were wanting. A Prussian army could be assembled for annual exercise and manœuvre on the frontier, for purposes of demonstration, and even of occupation of adjoining parishes in Luxembourg; but however brilliant, expert, and well disciplined such an army might be, and however ready and eager to engage in actual warfare its officers or its men might be, it is obviously so constituted, that it cannot be freely used in the field by its government as a political machine. The property, the industry, the intelligence, the influence of the country, are in its ranks—all that is valuable in a nation is in its ranks, and not merely a class given up to military service, as scape-goats for the rest of the community, and composed generally of the least valuable and most isolated members in it, whose loss is simply the loss of soldiers. Here, the loss would be the loss of the owners or heirs of the property of the country—the loss of fathers, husbands, sons—of men on whom the interests and industry of the country hinges—of the most useful and influential classes in it, not of the unconnected, idle, and outcast only, of whom an ordinary standing army is composed. The loss by a victory would be greater to Prussia in a political and economical view, than the loss by three defeats of ordinary troops. The affairs of society would be more deranged; more

useful life would be destroyed. An army composed of such materials cannot be risked, unless on the rare occasions, as during the last war, when national existence and safety are visibly at stake. The loss even of time and labour to all the productive classes, the destruction of all manufacturing industry and enterprise, by calling out the army of reserve, composed as it is, for actual service for a campaign or two, would be such a sacrifice of all social interests, as only the most imminent danger could justify.

If all wars were, like the last, for national existence, no system could be superior to the present military arrangement of the Prussian population; and all the secondary European powers have run headlong into it, on account of its obvious excellence for the defence of a country, and its apparent economy; and for the same reasons, all politicians and political economists are loud in its praise. If all the European countries had adopted the same military system at the conclusion of the last war, this might have been wise. The only question would have been, whether the economy is not in appearance only—whether the taking up of the time and labour of the whole productive classes of a nation, for military service, be not in reality a retrograde step in civilisation and political economy, and one more expensive and ruinous to the people than the taxes upon the value of the products of their time and labour, necessary to pay a particular class to perform that military service for all. But the other powers have each retained a disposable military force of a different nature, constituted on a different principle, and available as a political machine for any purpose in or out of the country, without regard or reference to the machine itself, or its connection with the industry and property of the nation, and therefore as a machine of superior weight and availability in European affairs. The new national armies have no aggressive capability, and consequently no power of intimidation in them. They are like the enormous pieces of ordnance found in old fortifications, to be fired off only in one direction, and only in defence. A French diplomatist would probably laugh in the face of a Prussian diplomatist, who could talk seriously of an armed alliance of Prussia and the other German powers who have adopted her military arrangements, for any political purpose whatsoever beyond the simple defence of their own territories, each for itself from within. The power of acting offensively without their own territories is gone. This great difference in

the constitutions of their armies since the peace, has produced the most important alteration in the relative weight and importance of the European powers. It has altogether changed, in an unseen way, the balance of power in Europe. For offensive war, and as a political power, Prussia has dropped the sword; while Russia, Austria, France, and England, have retained it, as something of weight ready to be thrown upon great questions arising, into the political scale. It is a mistake to talk of the five great dominant European powers; for as a belligerent capable of giving effect by offensive operation beyond her own territories to her political determinations, Prussia is in reality as much out of the question as Denmark, or any of the secondary powers in the European system. It is a signal instance of the hidden compensations which neutralise and counter-balance all excess of evil in human affairs, that this great military monarchy, the last which made and retained conquests and acquisitions of territory, without reference to moral principle, or appeal to the feeling of the people themselves, or to the sense of right among mankind—for such were the conquests of Frederic the Great, the acquisitions of Silesia and of the Polish and Pomeranian provinces now concealed under the name of East Prussia—is the first which was shaken to the ground in the late war, by the insufficiency of her own military power for her own defence—a mechanical military power without national feeling; and now, by the perfection of the mechanism of her military power for home-defence she is paralysed, and disarmed as a great political power.

Of all the European powers, Prussia supports the greatest military establishment, in proportion to her extent, population, and finances. The infantry of the line is reckoned 132,013 men. The cavalry of the line and of the guards, 25,200 men. The artillery of the line and of the guards, 22,365 men. Pioneers, miners, and other bodies of the engineer corps, 13,500 men. The infantry of the landwehr, exercised yearly, 124,737 men. The cavalry of the landwehr, exercised for four weeks yearly, 19,656 mounted men. The artillery of the landwehr, 17,292 men. The amount, including 8,118 officers, is 362,881 fighting men. Two-thirds of the landwehr, first for service, is sufficient to complete the landwehr regiments to their war establishment, so that one-third (above 80,000 men) of this division of the force remains disposable, and the whole of the division of the landwehr second for service, which is as strong

as the first division. The whole available exercised force of Prussia is reckoned by military writers at 532,000 men. The artillery is said—of course no exact information on such a point can be obtained or sought by the traveller—to consist, in pieces complete and useful, of 648 six-pounders and howitzers, of 216 twelve-pounders, and of 216 light field-pieces for horse-artillery, besides an unknown amount of heavy guns in the fortresses and in 336 garrison towns. The funds required in time of profound peace and non-movement of troops, to keep up this enormous military force, appears to be 22,798,000 thalers, out of a total revenue of 51,287,000 thalers. The revenue being pushed to the utmost point beyond which the productiveness of additional taxation would be null, being managed and collected also with great economy—the direct taxes costing but 4 per cent., and the indirect taxes 15 per cent. on the gross amount, as expense of collection—it does not appear how, in the event of a war, funds could be found to move this huge military machine. The time, labour, industry, and money, which should have been accumulating during peace in the hands of the people, and forming a capital diffused over the country capable of bearing the expenses of a war, are expended every year in military shows, drills, and manœuvres, which, even admitting that they make perfect soldiers of the whole population, leave nothing to move them with in the event of real war—nothing to raise taxes from. In the whole Prussian population the number of males fit for productive labour, that is, between their seventeenth and forty-fifth year, inclusive, appears to be about three millions. It is 3,042,946, including the infirm, sick, blind, lame, deformed, and all fit or unfit for military duty and productive labour. Above one-sixth of this gross number of productive labourers is taken by the state every year, for longer or shorter periods, from productive labour, to be employed in the unproductive labour of handling their firelocks, marching, and manœuvring. A people whose time and labour are thus taken away from industrial occupation, can never become rich or powerful as a nation, nor well off as individuals. The Duke of Wellington was right in an observation which has often been cavilled at—that notwithstanding our heavy taxation, the English labouring people are the least heavily taxed of any labouring people in Europe. The time and labour of the common man, with us, are not taken from him by his government. The unwieldiness and disproportion of the Prussian military force to the industrial

force which should raise the means to move it appears from the following comparison:—Prussia *, with a population of 14 millions, has an army of 532,000 men. Austria, with a population of 32 millions, has an army of 750,000 men: but if Austria adopted the Prussian military system, her army would amount to 1,216,000 men. France, estimated in 1841 to have a population of 35 millions, has an army of 840,000 men; but on the Prussian military system, her army would amount to 1,330,000 men. Great Britain, with a population of 26 millions, would, in proportion to Prussia, have an army of 987,000 men as her present establishment—a greater number than in the heat of the last war, reckoning volunteers, yeomanry, and all, were ever withdrawn from preparing the sinews of war by the exercise of private industry, to make shows and sham-fights, or even to repel a threatened invasion.

It is a defect in the present construction of the Continental armies—of that of France as much as any—that the private soldier who has raised himself to the station of a non-commissioned officer has no prospect whatever of attaining the rank of an officer. The class of non-commissioned officers is, in fact, expressly excluded from any higher military promotion by the distinction kept up, in most services, between nobility, from whom alone officers can be appointed, and the non-noble citizen, or burgerliche class. In France and Prussia this distinction is kept up by appointing officers only from the cadets, or military schools, and requiring scientific examination for a commission. The sons of functionaries, civil or military, who are educated carefully, and at some expense to the state as well as to their parents, are thus exclusively entitled to become officers; and as functionarism breeds up to its own supply, there is, especially in the healthy services of those powers who have no colonies or unwholesome climes to wear out human life in, always a surplus of those who have a right by education, promise, and long expectation, to vacancies as they occur in the regiments in which they are doing duty as expectants or cadets. The meritorious private soldier or non-commissioned officer is thus entirely excluded from any chance of promotion. Now this is a defect upon which a civilian is entitled to form an opinion as well as a military man, because it is a defect in the

* Betrachtungen eines Militaers ueber einem bevorstehenden Krieg zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich. Leipsic, 1841.

application of principles of social economy common to all institutions in society as well as to an army. To exclude merit or capability from the highest point to be attained, can never be a good arrangement in any social institution. Education is the plea upon which this exclusion of the whole class of non-commissioned officers from promotion in the Prussian service is justified. Education is certainly not to be undervalued, especially for the officer; but if we consider what the duties of a commissioned officer are, as ensign, lieutenant, or captain, and that in an army of a hundred thousand men, not two hundred are required to apply science or high education to their military duties, it appears obviously to be only a cover for the monopoly of the rank of commissioned officers by a particular class, to require that every subaltern should be educated to take the command of the movement of armies, and should pass through scientific examinations which would probably puzzle a Wellington. A sergeant-major with his sergeants, manœuvres his company, troop, or regiment, without the aid of the officers. He does daily the duties which they superintend, and in reality learn practically to do from him. To shut the door totally upon this class is evidently a faulty arrangement of the military system of a country. The efficiency of the French armies, so long as this door was thrown wide open—that is, during the whole of the republican period, and until the Emperor Napoleon shut it upon them, and upon his own success—proves that no military force is well constituted under the exclusion of the common soldier from the hope of attaining the higher military situations. The moral principle is too powerful for the aristocratic, in modern times even in military arrangement. The French and Prussian governments, without acknowledging the exclusion in favour of a noblesse, introduce it practically, by requiring the education which their noblesse or functionary class can alone afford to give. I could not hear of a single instance in Prussia of a man, not entered as a cadet, and entitled by his examination in science to a commission, who had risen from the ranks, since the peace, to the station of an officer. The government indeed has expressly declared, that the ultimate reward of long service and merit in this class is to be the appointment to such civil offices in the departments under government, as the non-commissioned officer or private soldier may be qualified to fill. In France, it is this defect in her military system which, in time of peace, seems inseparable from her civil arrangements from her functionary

system, that keeps alive the discontented republican spirit in the great body of the youth who supply the ranks, yet are excluded from promotion in the army. The Bourbon family never can obtain military popularity, as this exclusion is naturally ascribed to their system of government. The "*petit caporal*," applied to Napoleon, is not merely a term of endearment in the recollections of the French soldiery—it has a political meaning. In England, this defect in the old military arrangements has been perceived by the liberal ministry; and the non-commissioned class has been raised to a higher respectability than in any service in Europe. The chances are small, no doubt, in the British army, of the private soldier or non-commissioned officer attaining the rank of officer; yet more such promotions of men, originally from the ranks, take place in one year in the British service, than have taken place since the peace in all the Continental services put together. The non-commissioned class in an army are the equivalent to the middle classes in civil society. When the want of education, the vice, the brutality of our lower orders, are so much talked of by our higher orders, it is somewhat singular to find in the lowest order of all among us—that of the enlisted soldiery—no want of men of education and conduct to form a class which, in moral and intellectual condition, stands above the middle class of civil society, and not as all below the higher orders who vilified that from which it is formed. Is it not in a great degree a mere *façon de parler* among our gentry, when they speak of an ignorance, and moral, and intellectual degradation, of our working classes, with whom they in reality never mix or converse on such a footing as to know what they are? The superior status, as men of conduct and intelligence, of this middle class in military life, its higher respectability, and greater efficiency in the British service, strikes the traveller abroad, who happens to observe the different style of doing those ordinary duties in which the men are left entirely with a corporal or sergeant—as in relieving sentries—in the British and in foreign regiments. In the latter, it is obvious that, when the eye of the officer is off, the restraint of discipline is not upon the *men*. The unmilitary observer abroad can apply no other test of the state of discipline to what he sees of soldiery, than the precise or lax style of the men when in charge of non-commissioned officers only. If this be an admissible test, the discipline of the British service is more genuine and better than that of the Prussian.

Two distinct elements may enter into the construction of a military force in modern times. The rough peasant, or working-man-element, may compose not only the main body of the soldiery and non-commissioned officers, but may be mixed pretty high up even in the class of commissioned officers; or the gentleman-element, that of the educated, refined, delicately bred and brought up classes, may, by the formation of the military force out of the social body, be found preponderating, if not in numbers, at least in example and influence, in the ranks of an army. Which of the two, as military machines, would a Wellington prefer to work with in a campaign? It is possible that a certain delicacy of mind and body, a certain impatience of fatigue and discomfort, a certain over refinement for the work of the common soldier, may creep in and pervade too generally the mass of an army, assimilating the rougher material, of which soldiery, to be effective, must be composed, too much to itself. The soldier, like the horse, may be too finely bred, too delicately reared for his work, too soft, too refined, too much used to comforts. The composition of the Prussian army, drawn indiscriminately from all classes, from the middle and comfortable as well as the roughly living classes, has this defect evidently in it. The common labouring man himself on the Continent is, from the nature of the climate and his indoor employments for half the year, much less exposed to, and less hardened against, wet, cold, fatigue, and privation, than our common people. Those above the mere labouring class, the peasantry, the artisans, the middle class, and higher classes, all of whom are in the ranks, are so comfortably brought up, so wont to their regular meals, their cup of coffee, their pipe, their warm clothing, warm rooms, and are so cold-catching and sensible of weather, wet, fatigue, and discomfort, that even our highest classes of nobility and gentry are much more hardy, and, as every traveller remarks, far more robust in constitution and capability of enduring great fatigue and privation, than the very servants they hire on the Continent to attend them. A military force composed of such a material may be very brilliant for a single field-day, a battle, or a short campaign even, and very effective for home defence, but is not of the stuff for long rough fatigue and persevering endurance of all discomfort and privation, which in all ordinary military conjunctures are the military qualities that ensure success. Something of this want of the rougher material, and of this excess of the finer material, appears, even to the unmilitary

eye, about the Prussian soldiery. They are light, well made, even elegant figures—youths evidently formed upon the standard of a higher class of society than the common men in other services. They have not only the use of their limbs, but the kind of grace of movement which such exercises as dancing, fencing, and gymnastics give. They attitudinise well on sentry, dress individually well, and with a certain degree of dandyism, pantalooned, padded, and laced in, and which beseems the soldier. But still the unmilitary English eye of the common traveller misses the giant frame, strength, and vigour, of the front rank men of our good regiments of the line. The guards even, and cuirassiers, compared to the British, appear—can it be prejudice, or is it reality?—of ordinary infantry and ordinary dragoon make and size. Put them in the uniforms of riflemen, or of hussars, and they would pass for such on ordinary unmilitary people; but put one of our horseguards, or cuirassiers, on the horse, and in the accoutrements of a light cavalry man, or one of our grenadiers, not of the guards alone but of any of our good regiments, into a light infantry company, and there is not a grocer in Marylebone parish who would not find out at once that this kind of man was misplaced. Now this kind of man—the strong, sinewy, bony, muscular, grenadier frame of man, such as composes the front ranks at least of all our good regiments of the line—is a very scarce kind of man in Germany, probably from the natural growth and make of the people, and also from their softer and more delicate, more sedentary, more indoor life in boyhood when the frame is forming. If you see a stout man he is generally fleshy, with more weight than strength. A tendency to grow corpulent, and with what generally accompanies that tendency of the frame, a shortness of the arm bones as compared to men of the same size of lean, spare constitutions, is very common in Germany. This tendency to a lusty roundabout rather than a muscular growth, strikes the eye in the Prussian soldiery, and is no doubt derived from the easy, regular, good living, to which the classes from whom the ranks are filled have been accustomed from infancy. If a doubt may be permitted to a traveller, not certainly qualified to judge of such military matters, it would be—Is this so good a material to form an army of, this admixture of a class more delicately bred than the common labouring man, and giving its own habits, wants, and tastes, to the whole mass? Is this gentleman-element so well adapted to stand privation, fatigue, discomfort, and all that assails the com-

mon soldier, as the rougher material, the common working-man-element, out of which our army is composed?

Another obvious defect in the military establishment of Prussia is the want of any cure for longevity. The common men live indeed too short a time in the service—only for three years; but the officers live by far too long. Captains of companies of forty-five years of age, and lieutenants advancing to that time of life, are too common. Africa in the French service, the East and West Indies, the expense of home quarters, and the good half-pay in our service, are remedies counteracting in some degree this malady, the most pernicious to the efficiency and vigour of a military force that can get the ascendancy in it. It was the main cause of the destruction of the Prussian army in the first campaigns of the revolutionary war against the French; and our own army never did any good in the last war until the elderly gentlemen were got rid of, and captains of companies were generally under five-and-twenty, and field officers under five-and-thirty. With officers of the age when, in the course of nature, activity, endurance of fatigue, elasticity of body and mind, are failing, order, discipline, and appearance may be kept up admirably in a body of men, but the spirit and dash is wanting. Prussia has no unwholesome districts, or severe military duties wearing out human life, or disgusting the officer with the service, and but few advantages for the military man to retire upon when getting too old for the duties of the inferior officer. The promotion is consequently slow, and men grow old in situations which require the spirit and activity of youth. It is not in the habits, also, of the upper class to keep themselves young by hard exercise or fatigue. The French officer is perpetually in movement, like a hyena in his den. It may be only a den of a coffee-room, or billiard-room; but there he is all day, in perpetual activity of mind and body. The English officer has his daily feat of pedestrianism, harder than any forced march; his hunting, his shooting, and is always in wind and working condition for any exertion. The German officers seem naturally of more sedentary habits. You seldom see them taking heavy downright fatigue for mere pleasure or emulation, as our young officers do. The very school-boys walk, and don't run in Germany.

In the event of a rupture with France upon the French claim of having the Rhine for their boundary, the chances would run very much against Prussia, notwithstanding the excellence of her military arrangements for defence: it is a national question in

France, one which has become almost personal in the spirit of every Frenchman: it is a mere political distant object to the great majority of the Prussian population. They have shown themselves capable of great exertion on great occasions; but this would not be one of those great occasions which call forth national spirit for the defence of national existence, or material interests. German steam is not easily got up. The jealousy of the governments extinguishes every where in Germany the expression of public opinion, and consequently the diffusion of national spirit on subjects not immediately pressing upon the people. No political discussions in newspapers or in conversation, no agitation or party feelings upon their own affairs keep alive the flame. In public places where people meet and talk, the literature or science of the day, the theatre, opera, or ballet, and perhaps the reviews of the military, and the journeys of their princes to or from their residences, are discussed, but never the national objects, interests, or politics. You never hear among the lowest class of Germans the vulgar prejudices of the vulgar Englishman, Frenchman, or American, about the superiority of his country, which make him insufferable as an individual, but respectable as an atom of a nation inspired with the same intense public spirit. The Prussians are educated, trained, and governed out of this spirit. The German newspaper writers, since the agitation of France under the administration of Thiers about the Rhine boundary, begin to talk of a German national spirit to be kindled in every breast by the German commercial league, but have only got so far, as yet, as to be quarrelling about whether this universal Teutonic flame is to be lighted upon a Prussian hearthstone, or is to have a fire-place for itself; whether all Germany is to be Prussia, or Prussia a part of all Germany united into one bundle, and set fire to as soon as the French march to the Rhine. The partition of Poland is but beginning now to present Prussia with the fruits of iniquity. The two or three millions of Polish subjects of Prussia, so far from being amalgamated with the Prussian subjects, live in a state of passive resistance to the Prussian government. They cultivate their own nationality, will not mix with the Prussians, and will not even accept of civil office, or educate their children in the German language, customs, and laws, so as to fill the civil functions in their own country. They hold themselves as subjugated provinces, and are evidently in a state which will paralyse the Prussian military power the moment the French throw up a signal rocket from the banks of

the Rhine. All that time had done since the partition of Poland towards amalgamating the people with Prussia, has been lost by the Prussian government delivering up to Russia the Poles who had sought refuge, during the last commotions in Poland, among their relations and friends on what they considered Prussian territory. At present the Polish peasants who desert their homes in Russian Poland to escape the military conscription, are seized in the villages of Prussian Poland, and sent back. This, say the Prussian Poles, justly enough, is not the state of a country amalgamated and incorporated with another independent country and protecting government, but the state of a subjugated country held only by conquest, and entitled to throw off the yoke. So general has this spirit of passive resistance to Prussian rule become in this part of the Prussian dominions, that his present Majesty has been obliged, since his accession, to remind his Polish subjects by a proclamation, that they have been incorporated with his kingdom in the settlement of Europe in 1815, by the five great European powers. The Poles quietly reply, that three of the five are themselves the robbers, partaking in the spoil to which they gave themselves these legitimate rights; and refer to the undeniable non-protection of their provinces as Prussian territory, for the proof that they are not Prussian.

It is here, and on the Rhine, that the flame of war will first break out on the Continent of Europe. What will be the policy of England? The day is past when an English ministry, however conservative, could venture to propose to the country to join a despotic state in subjugating Poland, or in repressing the extension of constitutional representative government over an enlightened, manufacturing, and commercial population on the Rhine. The aggrandisement of France by such an accession of territory and people is a bugbear which, in the present age, would not mislead the common sense of England, because it would be an accession of the elements of peace, industry, manufactures, and power in the public affairs of France, lodged in the hands of an enlightened, industrious, peaceful population—not an accession of warlike spirit and means; and is at any rate an aggrandisement in no way affecting English interests or honour. England can only be a gainer, if every population from the White Sea to the Straits of Gibraltar were to give themselves free institutions, civil and political liberty, influence of the public over public affairs, and the power of restraining their rulers from wars or oppression.

CHAPTER V.

NOTES ON THE PRUSSIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.—ITS EFFECTS ON THE MORAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

THE educational system of Prussia is admirable—admirable as a machinery by which schools, schoolmasters, superintendence of them, checks, rewards both for the taught and the teachers, and in a word education—that word being taken in the meaning of the means of conveying certain very useful acquirements to every class of society, and to every capacity of individuals—are diffused over the country, and by law brought into operation upon every human being in it. The machinery for national education is undoubtedly very perfect. The military organisation of the whole population, and the habitual interference of government in all the doings and concerns of every individual—his very outgoing and incoming being, from the nature of his military service, matter of leave, licence, superintendence, and passport—make it as easy to establish an admirable system and regulation in every object government undertakes throughout the kingdom as in a barrack-yard. But great statesmen and politicians, especially of the military and nobility who see only one class or one side of society, are very apt to mistake the perfection of the means for the perfection of the end. The mistake is common with our own parliamentary philosophers. An admirable machinery is constructed, which with its various and well-considered regulations and checks, improved on perhaps by the experience and ingenuity of successive generations, is in reality a masterpiece of human wisdom and contrivance—such for example was our own excise system with its salt laws, and such is the same excise system now, in all that comes under its superintendence: and in the regular working and wise adaptation of all the parts of this beautiful and perfect machinery, we forget that the object itself may not be worth all this wisdom, may be attained in a more easy, natural, and effective way, or may be even not worth attaining. The wisdom and perfection of the machinery of the laws, and arrangements for attaining

the end, are confounded with the value and wisdom of the end itself. The educational system of Prussia is no doubt admirable as a machinery; but the same end is to be attained in a more natural and effective way—by raising the moral condition of the parents to free agency in their duties; or if not—if education, that is, reading, writing, and arithmetic, cannot be brought within the acquirements of the common man's children, but upon the Prussian semi-coercive principle of the state, through its functionaries, intruding upon the parental duties of each individual, stepping in between the father and his family, and enforcing by state regulations, fines and even imprisonment,* what should be left to the moral sense of duty and natural affection of every parent who is not in a state of pupillage from mental imbecility—then is such education not worth the demoralising price paid for it—the interference with men as free moral agents, the substitution of government enactments and superintendence in the most sacred domestic affairs for self-guidance by conscience, good principle, and common sense—the reduction, in short of the population of a country to the social condition of a soldiery off duty roaming about their parade ground, under the eye and at the call of their superiors, without free agency or a sense of moral responsibility. Moral effects in society can only be produced by moral influences. We may drill boys into reading and writing machines; but this is not education. The almost mechanical operations of reading, writing, and reckoning, are unquestionably most valuable acquirements—who can deny or doubt it?—but they are not education; they are the means only, not the end—the tools, not the work, in the education of

* I asked an intelligent Prussian what could be done if a parent refused to send his child to school? He told me he had lately been at the police-office when a man was brought in for not sending his girl to school. She could not read, although advancing to the age to be confirmed. The man said his girl was earning her bread at a manufactory which he named, and he could not maintain her at school. He was asked why he did not send her to the evening schools established for such cases, and held after working hours, or to the Sunday schools. He said his wife had a large family of young infants, and his girl had to keep them when she came from her work, while her mother was washing for them, and doing other needful family work, which she could not do with a child in her arms. The man was told that he would be committed to prison if he and his wife did not send their girl to school.

In such a case would the school-learning be worth that learning which the girl was receiving at home in household work, or in taking care of children?

man. We are too ready in Britain to consider them as tools which will work of themselves—that if the labouring man is taught to read his Bible, he becomes necessarily a moral, religious man—that to read is to think. This confounding of the means with the end is, practically a great error. We see no such effects from the acquisition of much higher branches of school education, and by those far above the social position of the labouring man. Reading and writing are acquirements very widely diffused in Paris, in Italy, in Austria, in Prussia, in Sweden; but the people are not moral, nor religious, nor enlightened, nor free, because they possess the means: they are not of educated mind in any true sense. If the ultimate object of all education and knowledge be to raise man to the feeling of his own moral worth, to a sense of his responsibility to his Creator and to his conscience for every act, to the dignity of a reflecting, self-guiding, virtuous, religious member of society, then the Prussian educational system is a failure. It is only a training from childhood in the conventional discipline and submission of mind, which the state exacts from its subjects. It is not a training or education which has raised, but which has lowered, the human character. This system of interference and intrusion into the inmost domestic relations of the people, this educational drill of every family by state means and machinery, supersedes parental tuition. It is a fact not to be denied that the Prussian population is at this day, when the fruits of this educational system may be appreciated in the generation of the adults, in a remarkably demoralised condition in those branches of moral conduct which cannot be taught in schools, and are not taught by the parents, because parental tuition is broken in upon by governmental interference in Prussia, its efficacy and weight annulled, and the natural dependence of the child upon the words and wisdom of its parent—the delicate threads by which the infant's mind, as its body, draws nutriment from its parent—is ruptured. They know little of human nature who know not that more of moral education may be conveyed in a glance of a mother's eye than in a whole course of reading and writing, under educational sergeants or clergymen in primary schools and gymnasia. Of all the virtues, that which the domestic family education of both the sexes most obviously influences—that which marks more clearly than any other the moral condition of a society, the home state of moral and religious principles, the efficiency of those principles in it, and the amount of that moral restraint

upon passions and impulses, which it is the object of education and knowledge to attain—is undoubtedly female chastity. Will any traveller, will any Prussian say, that this index-virtue of the moral condition of a people is not lower in Prussia than in almost any part of Europe?* It is no uncommon event in the family of a respectable tradesman in Berlin to find upon his breakfast table a little baby, of which, whoever may be the father, he has no doubt at all about the maternal grandfather. Such accidents are so common in the class in which they are least common with us—the middle class, removed from ignorance or indigence—that they are regarded but as accidents, as youthful indiscretions, not as disgraces affecting, as with us, the respectability and happiness of all the kith and kin for a generation. This educational drill of all the children of the community to one system, in schools in which the parent has no control or election of what is taught, or by whom or how, is a very suitable prelude to the education that follows it—the barrack life of all the Prussian youth, during three years of the most precious period of human life for forming the moral habits and character of the man as a future member of society. The unsettled military life for three years of every Prussian on his entrance into the world as a man, the idleness, want of forethought, and frivolity inseparable from his condition during this period, his half military, half civilian state, neither one nor the other, during all the rest of his life, his condition of pupillage under his military or civil functionaries, in every act or movement during his existence, from his primary school service (schulpflichtigkeit) to his being enrolled in old age as a landsturm man, are in reality the steps of his education. Are these the steps to any of the true objects of education? to the attainment of any high feeling of individual moral worth and dignity? This edu-

* In 1837 the number of females in the Prussian population between the beginning of their 16th year and the end of their 45th year—that is, within child-bearing age—was 2,983,146; the number of illegitimate children born in the same year was 39,501, so that 1 in every 75 of the whole of the females of an age to bear children, had been the mother of an illegitimate child.

Prince Pukler Muskau states in one of his late publications (Südöstlicher Bildersaal, 3 Theil. 1841), that the character of the Prussians for honesty stands far lower than that of any other of the German populations; but he adduces no statistical data for this opinion. As a Prussian, he would scarcely come to such a conclusion, if it were not generally believed in Germany.

cational system is in reality, from the cradle to the grave, nothing but a deception, a delusion put upon the noblest principle of human nature—the desire for intellectual development—a deception practised for the paltry political end of rearing the individual to be part and parcel of an artificial and despotic system of government, of training him to be either its instrument or its slave, according to his social station.

The British government has accomplished a much wiser and more effective educational measure—the only measure, perhaps, which, without giving umbrage to some political or clerical body or other, could have been adopted for the general education of the people—by the reduction of the postage on letters. It has brought the use and advantage of education home to the common man, for it no longer costs him a day's wages to communicate with his family. This great moral improvement in the condition of the lower class extends the influences of advice, admonition, and family affection among them. The postage was, in reality, a tax upon these moral influences. The people will educate themselves in a single generation, for the sake of the advantages this great measure has bestowed on education. A state-machinery of schools and schoolmasters, spread over the country on the Prussian system, would probably have cost more than the sacrifice of revenue by the reduction of postage, and, owing to the clashing of religious parties, would never have been so effective in extending education. The means in fact of education—a neighbour to teach reading and writing, were not wanting—were to be found in every parish, and the want of schools was a far smaller obstacle to the diffusion of education than the want of any desire of the people themselves for education. The labouring class saw no advantage or benefit from it. This obstacle is overcome without interference with the religious opinions of any class or sect; and it will be found that already the business of the schoolmaster in society is providing for itself, like that of the miller or the blacksmith, without any aid from church or state. The supply will follow the demand in education as in every other human want; and the demand will be effective in producing supply, just in proportion to the value and use of the article in ordinary life. This measure will be the great historical distinction of the reign of Victoria I. Every mother in the kingdom who has children earning their bread at a distance, lays her head upon her pillow at night with a feeling of gratitude for this blessing. It is the great and enviable dis-

tinction of the liberal ministry then in power, that they carried this measure boldly into effect without crippling its moral influence, by reduction of a part only of this tax on the communications of the people.

Selbtsgefuhl is a superb word which the German language possesses, to describe the sense of one's own moral dignity as a man; but the feeling or sentiment it expresses is wanting in a remarkable degree where you expect to find it strongest,—among the German youth, the nationally educated youth. Did it ever happen to a traveller taking a walk in the neighbourhood of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, St. Andrew's, or any of the universities in the United States, to be accosted by a stout, able-bodied, well-enough dressed student begging, with cap in hand, for money from the passengers on the highroad? Ten thousand to one no man alive ever witnessed such debasement of mind among the youth of those countries, educated or not educated. The lad would sell his clothes, work, enlist, starve, drown, hang, but beg he would not. In Germany, within half a mile of the University of Bonn, on a Sunday evening, when all the town was abroad walking, I have seen a student in tolerably good clothes, his tobacco-pipe in his mouth, begging with his hat off on the public road, running after passengers and carriages, soliciting charity, and looking very sulky when refused; and the young man in full health, and with clothes on his back that would sell for enough to keep him for a week.—This is no uncommon occurrence on the German roads. Every traveller on the roads around Heidelberg, Bonn, and the other university towns of Germany, must have frequently and daily witnessed this debasement of mind among the youth. This want of sensibility to shame, or public opinion, or to personal moral dignity, is a defect of character produced entirely by the system of government interference in all education and all human action. It is an example of its moral working on society. It is not from moral worth, character, or conduct in their private relations, but from government, from educational, military, or civil functionaries, that the studying class have, in every stage of life, to seek advancement. The generous feelings, impulses, and motives of youth, are smothered under the servile institutions of the governments, by which all means of living in any of the liberal professions, or even in the ordinary branches of industry, are to be obtained only by government licence, appointment, and

favour,* not by moral worth, merit, and exertion, gaining the public estimation. Morally, they are slaves of enslaved minds. Compulsory education, compulsory religion, compulsory military service, and the finger of government interfering in all action and opinion, and leaving nothing to free will and uncontrolled individual judgment, produce youths well educated, as it is called, because they can read, write, and sing, well dressed, well drilled, and able-bodied; and whose selbstgefuhl, whose moral sense has not been educated, raised, and cultivated, even to the extent of making them feel debased or degraded at running, cap in hand, begging at the side of carriages on the highway.

This want of self-respect in the German character, produced by the educational and social system, and the undue importance in the German mind of rank, office, and conventional distinction, and the undue weight of these in the social economy of Germany, are strongly marked by the profusion† of orders, stars, crosses, ribbons, and empty titles, with which the people, both of civil and military station, adorn and gratify themselves. Every third man you meet in the streets has a label in his button-hole, telling all the world, "I am a knight, look at me." No very young man among the Continental military can have ever heard a bullet whistle in the field: so that even by this class no very profound respect for the ribbon at the button-hole can be claimed, and none at all by the ordinary civil classes who trick themselves out with it *en militaire*. The feeling of personal worth—the pride, it may be—seems unknown to them, which leads the British nobleman, gentleman of high station, or military officer, who may have been honoured with a British or foreign order, to wear it only on particular parade occasions. He feels that he is something without the external testimonial of it: the German takes the emblem for the thing itself. The English gentleman would think it quite as inconsistent with his personal dignity to

* In 1834, for every 100 church or school situations to be filled up in the Prussian dominions, there were 262 candidates qualified by studies at the universities; for every 100 juridical situations, 256 candidates; for every 100 medical 196 candidates.

† The difference of national character between the English and Continental people on this point is illustrated by the circumstance, that in 1834 the members of a single Continental order—the French order of the legion of honour—amounted to 49,620 persons, and in the same year the five British orders numbered only 906 members, and of these the greater number were persons of that social distinction from birth, rank, or office, that the decoration of an order was but an adjunct of little importance.

walk about on ordinary occasions, in the ordinary circles of society, with his stars, crosses, and ribbons plastered on his breast, as with the gazette of the actions in which he had won his distinctions, plastered on his back. The German, again, ties his bit of red ribbon even to the button-hole of his dressing-gown; the merchant goes to his counting-house, the apothecary to the barber's shop to be shaved, the professor to his lecture room, in crosses and ribbons, as if they were going to the levee of the sovereign. The upper classes of society in all countries are said to be very much alike, and to show few of the peculiar distinctive differences which mark the national character in the middle and lower classes of each country. This is a mistake. The English gentleman, from the highest rank to the very lowest that assumes the appellation, is distinguished from the Continental gentleman by this peculiar trait of character—his dependence on himself for his social position, his self-esteem, call it pride, or call it a high-minded feeling of his own worth. There he stands, valuing himself upon something within himself, and not upon any outward testimonials of it conferred by others. This feeling goes very deep into society in England.

It is often objected to us by foreigners, that we pay the same, or even greater respect and deference to wealth, than they pay to the external honours conferred on merit by the sovereign; that wealth with us, as a social distinction, takes the place even of moral merits, and "what is a man worth," means how many pounds sterling he has, without any reference to his merits, real or conventional, to his birth, education, morals, manners, or other distinctions; that if he is poor, he is nothing in our society, if rich, he is every thing. This too is a mistake, a wrong conclusion from right premises. Wealth has all that pre-eminence in social distinction with us, which the foreign traveller observes; and even more than he observes, censures, and is witty over. But what is wealth? It is a proof, a token undeniable, of great industry, great energy, great talent in his sphere, great social activity and utility in the possessor, or in his predecessor who acquired it. It is the indubitable proof, generally speaking, of great and successful exertion of prudence, skill, mental power applied to material interests, and of extensive social action; and what ought to be honoured and esteemed, and held in the highest estimation in an enlightened society, if not the visible proof of these social virtues in the owner or his predecessors? The deference paid to mere wealth honestly acquired,

its pre-eminence as a social distinction, stands upon far more philosophical grounds than the social distinction of mere ancestry, or of mere function, or of mere title, or of the empty honours conferred by a sovereign. Wealth is an independent social power, and is the equivalent in the material world to genius and talent in the intellectual. The Rothschilds, the Barings, and these great millionaires, are in the world of pounds, shillings, and pence, what the Shakspeares, Goethes, Schillers, are in the world of ideas; and their social action and influence, their wielding of a vast social power in the working of which the fortunes, the comfort, the bread of millions are involved, require a grasp of mind, and are entitled to a social distinction, beyond the comprehension of the mustachioed German baron, who, issuing from some petty metropolis, finds to his utter astonishment that mere wealth commands greater respect in this working world of realities than his sixteen ancestors, his lieutenant's commission, his chamberlain's key embroidered on his coat flap, and his half-a-dozen orders at his button-holes. The common sense of all countries gives this social distinction to wealth, above any other distinction that is not purely moral or intellectual. The principle is as clearly felt in Russia as in America; and where public opinion is in free action, as in England, it supersedes the principle of mere conventional distinctions so far, that the latter without the former—nobility, titles, functions, orders, without wealth—are of no social weight. This common, almost instinctive judgment of all men, under all varieties of government, according this pre-eminence of social distinction to mere wealth, proves that this judgment is right, that it is founded on some natural, just, and useful social principle, that cannot be philosophised away; that wealth, mere wealth, is a more natural and just ground of social distinction than any conventional ground from mere birth, mere court favour, mere title, or mere rank. It arises from the people, and is conferred by the people; and all other conventional distinctions arise from, and are conferred by the will of the court or sovereign. The encroachment of the former upon the latter is a barometer showing the real progress of a community towards a just estimation of social worth and action, and towards a higher moral condition. Where every third man is lounging about, as in Prussia, and generally on the Continent, with his orders of merit of some kind or other —and many whose general merits would apparently be nothing the worse of the addition of a little industry to earn a new coat

to stick their honours upon—the people, be their forms of government what they may, are but in a low social and industrial condition—are ages behind us in their social economy, and in their true social education as free agents and members of the community.

CHAPTER VI.

NOTES ON THE PRUSSIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM CONTINUED.—ITS EFFECTS ON THE SOCIAL AND MORAL CONDITION AND CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE.

THE voice of history in praise or reproach of kings is not heard amidst the whispers of courtiers, or the hurra of armies. Her note comes to the ear of posterity from the cottage and the foot-path of the common man. The upper and educated classes in Prussia live upon the industry of the people entirely, by their appointments under the government, either as military officers, civil functionaries, clerical or educational officials; or if they derive their living direct from the people, and not from the hand of government, still they derive the privilege to exercise this means of living, be it in the law, in medicine, in trade, or any branch of industry, from the constituted authorities. These classes are loud enough in their adulation of the government of the late monarch, and of the social economy of Prussia,—of its military system, its educational system, its functionary system, and of all that emanates from the higher powers. No wonder. They are strangers to individual free agency in society, and they hold their appointments and means of living, and look for their bread, or that of their children, from the hand of government. Their voice alone is heard in the literary world, on Prussian education, religion, social economy and affairs; and their voice is one shout of praise. But the future historian of this age, judging from purer sources, from facts and principles, will regard the Prussian social economy established by the late monarch as an attempt, now that the power of the sword and of brute force in civilised communities is gone, to raise up an equally despotic, irresponsible power of government, by enslaving the habits, mind, and moral agency of the people, through an educational, military, and religious training, and a system of perpetual surveillance of functionaries over every individual from his cradle to his grave. The attempt will probably fail, because it involves inconsistencies. It is a struggle of contradictions. A rigid censorship of the press, and a general education of the people; a religious population, and an interference of government with,

and a subversion by its edicts of, the religious observances, forms, and prayers of a church for which their forefathers had shed their blood in the battle field; a moral people, and an intermeddling of the hand of government in the free action of man as a moral agent, in the sanctity of family duty and management, and during the most precious period of human life for forming the moral habits and character—a barrack-room education for all classes; a wealthy and happy people, and a ruinous yearly demand upon that time and labour out of which alone national wealth and wellbeing can grow, for the sake of an idle and unfounded display at reviews, and parades, of a military strength not efficient, in reality, from the nature of its materials, for military purposes; these are incompatibilities which even Prussian discipline cannot make to march together. The reign of the late monarch will be regarded as an attempt to hold fast by autocratic irresponsible power; but to shift the ground which supported it from sheer military force, to a power founded, somewhat like the Chinese, the Mahometan, or the Russian, upon the education, habits, and religion of the people,—all of which were to be Prussian, under the guidance of government, and subservient to its support. He will be judged of by posterity as a well-meaning but weak man, tenacious of what he deemed power (as all weak men are), and which (as is often the case) was in reality not power; who forfeited his word to his people to give them a constitution, and who had a people as abject as he was autocratic. He came out of severe trial and adversity untaught by it, forgetful of the struggle made for him by his subjects upon his promise of giving them a representative constitution; and he has bequeathed to his successors a social economy of his own construction, full of inconsistencies and false principles. There are men even in England, and they abound on the Continent, who deem it a social, almost a moral duty, to see nothing wrong in the doings of kings, to laud every act and every character clothed in royal authority. Our middle classes do not partake in this indiscriminating love for the purple. The distance of social position, like the distance of time, enables them, and they constitute the great body of our intelligent thinking public, to form an historical judgment of the men and events of their own times. They judge now, as posterity will judge hereafter. They will judge that the late Prussian monarch,—the lauded, the almost worshipped by our aristocracy and clergy, as the best, the wisest, the most conservative, the most anti-

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revolutionary monarch of our age,—has overturned the Protestant religion, and shaken Christianity itself, by his ultra-conservative zeal to establish the basis of his autocracy on the religion of the people. What would those lords, and squires, and clergy say, if a king and irresponsible cabinet among us were to put down the churches of England and Scotland, and to impose on the people by royal edict a selection of Mrs. Barbauld's prayers and hymns, instead of the time-honoured liturgy of the former church, and the spirit-awakening effusions of the latter? This is precisely what has been done in Prussia. Mrs. Barbauld's nursery prayers and hymns are, as devotional compositions, quite as near to the excellence of the admirable old liturgy, or to the Psalms of David, as the compositions of Dr. Eylert and Dr. Neander, although aided, it is said, by the royal pen itself in some of the prayers, and of the doggerel ditties of the Gesang-buch. The *Kurie Eleaison*, and other operatic quaverings in the new service, are, it is said, borrowed from the Greek church, the late king having, when on a visit to Russia, been much pleased with those parts of the Greek service.

The one point for political philosophy is, that this act was the act of the pattern king of the Continental governments, whose reign is held up by all the conservative interests on the Continent as a signal and undeniable proof that irresponsible autocratic power vested in the monarch, and all legislation emanating from the royal authority alone, without any constitutional representation of the people in the legislature, are compatible with the utmost good government, the utmost physical, moral, and religious wellbeing of society.

The other great point is, that this is the people whose educational system, spirit, and institutions are held up as a model by the liberal, the pious, the benevolent of other countries, who are anxious for the diffusion of education; but who mistake the means for the end, the almost mechanical arts of reading and writing for the moral elevation of character which education should produce.

The page of history does not supply another example so striking as this of the deteriorating influence of arbitrary, irresponsible power, both on the ruler and the ruled. It cannot be doubted that the late monarch was an amiable, well-meaning man, beloved by all who approached him. The more the historian gives on this side, the more he must take on the other.

The mere possession in modern society of this irresponsible, unchecked, autocratic power in legislation, brings this good and popular sovereign into the unenviable historical fame of having overturned religion in Germany, and of having established a social, moral, and religious vassalage over his people. History will have her day of judgment, and will judge public men by their public acts. She will hear the cry of the victims, said to have been 2966 individuals, suffering for their religious or political opinions, and pardoned on the death of this good and amiable sovereign by an act of amnesty of his successor. History will ask, what were the crimes of these persons (whatever their numbers may have really been, a secret probably only known to government)? What rebellions, what treasons, what tumults occurred in this reign? Or were they the victims of their free expressions of opinions,—torn from their families and homes, imprisoned, condemned, banished, because they presumed to remind their sovereign of the natural and constitutional rights of the people, and of the royal promise to restore those natural rights to a representation in the legislature; a promise given in the hour of need, and broken in the hour of prosperity? Or was it their crime that they conscientiously opposed an arbitrary and unnecessary change in the Protestant religion, as handed down to them by their forefathers? History will have her day of judgment; nor will her judgment of the sovereign be biassed by the private virtues or amiable qualities of the man; nor by the adulation of a people trained to crouch before their master, and lick the hand that smites. The abject submission of mind to all authority, the suspension of judgment on public acts, and the adulation of all royal personages, are natural effects on the ruled of the unmixed, irresponsible, autocratic power in the ruler. The popularity of the ruler in such a condition of society is formed on his private personal character, not on his public acts; and the fine terms of beloved, adored, patriotic, beneficent, applied to the monarch, are words of form by which the judgment of history will not be swayed.

But, in stating the evil of this reign, the good should not be overlooked. It broke the oppressive feudal vassalage of the peasantry under the nobles, and has raised their condition physically and morally. If a heavy military burden be laid upon the people,—if they have, in effect, only changed masters, and their time, labour, and free action in industry be now as much absorbed by the state, and its functionaries, as formerly by their

local feudal lords, still the yoke is easy, which all bear the weight of equally. Let it not be forgotten, too, that the freedom of mind in intellectual, political, and even religious action, and the freedom of person and property in industrial action, are not felt as essential wants in a state of society in which the people have no intellectual or industrial activity. A few of the upper and cultivated classes only are in a social condition to feel restrictions, such, for instance, as those on the press, which all men, in our social condition, would fly from or rise against, as insupportable oppression. The good of the late king's reign,—the emancipation of the peasantry,—the promise, at least, of a representative constitution,—the removal of many old restrictions on trade,—and the introducing of many useful establishments, belong undoubtedly to the monarch himself—to the good-hearted, benevolent, well-meaning king. The evil of his reign,—the perpetual drain on the time and labour of the people for military service,—the attempt to make education, religion, and all social movement subservient to the support of a government system,—the centralisation in the hands of functionaries of all affairs of society,—and the interference of government with matters which are beyond the legitimate objects of government in any free enlightened state of society, may be ascribed to the influence of men around the throne, disinterested, perhaps, and sincere, but not enlightened, or advancing with the age; bred in function, and seeing the interests of the people through a false medium. With enlightened men, as Stein and Hardenberg, for his ministers, the late king was an enlightened ruler; with bigots about him, he was a bigot; with functionaries, a functionarist. There is no inconsistency between the first part of his reign and the last; he was evidently a good, well-meaning, weak man, led this way and that by each successive band of functionaries he employed. The whole shows impressively the working of irresponsible power on the minds of the ruler and the ruled.

The intermeddling with the Luthern and Calvinistic churches, and the unhappy attempt—unhappy for the Protestant religion in every country—to set up a third intermediate church, may be traced to the love of concentrated power over all things inherent in the functionarism which guides the Prussian state, combined with the system adopted in all the governments of the Continent,—of governing on *juste milieu* principle, of avoiding any decided mode of action, and of always taking some third course between two. Ancillon, who had been private tutor to the late king,

and who died prime minister in 1835, published a work in 1828 upon Vermittelung der Extreme—Mediation between Extremes. In a number of essays on moral, political, and literary subjects, he lays down the extreme opinions upon each side—as for instance, on the classical and romantic schools of literature; and deduces from the absurdity of each extreme, the truth of the old saying—"in medio tutissimus ibis." There is a saying, however, quite as old, and much more generally true—"there are but two ways of doing a thing, the right and the wrong." It is the policy, or reasoning, of weak minds that seeks a middle way between. In religion, in morals, in politics, as in mathematics, a *juste milieu* is a nonentity. Morally, and intellectually there is no middle point between true and false, right and wrong; and practically, no attainment between hit and miss. There is no neutral ground in religion, none in morals, and none in sound politics. When governments attempt to extend their power beyond the legitimate object for which government is established in society, and would embrace the intellectual, moral, and religious concerns, as well as the material interests of their subjects, they are obliged to adopt a middle course, between the extreme power they would usurp, and the innate principle in the human mind of resistance to power over intellectual action. This middle course, founded on no principle but the evasion of applying principle to action, has been the line of policy of Continental statesmen during this half century. We have seen the principle applied at home, and signally fail in the hands of able men, and in a popular cause—in the whole management and results of the Parliamentary Reform Bill in the hands of the Whig ministry. The common sense of the people would accept of no trimming between right and wrong in a great measure. If the measure and its principle were right, they ought to have been followed out, and not sacrificed to any secondary or partial interests. The concession to Tory party power,—the attempt to find a middle point between right and wrong, to settle the constitution upon a fog bank, neither land nor water,—the attempt at a *juste milieu*, in short, between reform and no reform, disgusted the nation, ruined the liberal ministry, and for a moment has injured the cause itself.

In Prussia we see similar results from governing on *juste milieu* principle in an opposite direction of policy; and attempting to govern in matters beyond the legitimate limits of government—in the religion of the people. That government exists in society

for the people, not the people for the government, is admitted in our social economy, but not in the social economy of the Continent. It is practically the reverse in Prussia; yet here, the *juste milieu* principle applied to uniting the two Protestant churches into one for governmental support, has failed when applied to the human mind; it has upset the Protestant religion in Germany,—has opened the door to popery, and to infidelity, as the only two asylums from arbitrary interference with independent religious opinion, and has at last run up those who still adhere to the Protestant faith to a state of excitement and fanaticism—to the extravagant doctrines and feelings of the age of the first reformers.

It is said the present sovereign sees this false position, and intends to try back, and to abolish this mongrel Prussian church. But this is only conjecture, for in this highly educated land the people are only made acquainted with the intentions of their own government through foreign newspapers. In consequence of some paragraph in the Augsburg Algemeine Zeitung—a Bavarian newspaper, in which the intentions of the Prussian government are sometimes made known—a change in the present church is supposed to be in contemplation; and pamphlets on both sides, by Prussian subjects, are printed abroad, at Hamburg or Leipsic, and smuggled in for the information of the country.*

This is the state of instruction upon their own religious affairs, and this the means of information and discussion on their own most important interests, among a people boasting of being the most generally and highly educated in Europe,—whose educational institutions, indeed, we are told by our divines, philosophers, and politicians, are a model for all other civilised countries, and the most efficient ever devised for the intellectual development, and the religious and moral advancement of society.

Owing to the censorship of the press, and the consequent want of interest in, as well as of information upon, the affairs of the country, the people in Prussia seldom talk home news or politics, and are as ignorant as in Turkey of what is doing by their own government. Foreign newspapers—those of Leipsic, Hamburg, Frankfort, or Augsburg—give them the first intelligence on their own affairs. The persecution of the poor villagers in Si-

* For instance, Die in Preussen beabsichtigte Aufhebung der Kirchigen Union, &c., von einem alt Preussen. Printed at Hamburg, 1841.

lesia who adhered to the Lutheran church, was, of course, not a matter to be hinted at in the Prussian newspapers; and the circumstances would perhaps never have been known beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the sufferers, if the Prussian government could have imposed silence on others, as well as on its own subjects. As the latest, if not the last, of religious persecutions in Europe in civilised times, some minuteness in the detail of the circumstances of it may be satisfactory, or will, at least, show how, in highly educated countries, persecution is carried on.

The amalgamation of the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches, and the introduction of a new liturgy and church service, or *agenda*, met with a passive resistance every where. In vain royal edicts assured the people that no change in their religious belief, and no restraint on the freedom of conscience, were involved in the new service. The ministers in Silesia considered the attempt itself to assimilate the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches dangerous to the pure Lutheran doctrine, and openly declared that no earthly power had a right to interfere with freedom of religion and conscience. The parish of Hermannsdorf, under its minister the pastor Berger, and the parish of Hoenigern, consisting of ten villages, under its pastor Kellner, refused obedience to the order of the consistory to introduce the new service, and continued to use the old liturgy and service, and to receive the sacrament according to the old Lutheran formulary—*it is* the body and blood of Christ. The people flocked from far and near to these genuine old Lutheran preachers. The consistory of Breslau ordered pastor Berger to administer the sacrament alternately according to the new and the old service. He refused any such compromise of conscience, any such *juste milieu* in his religious persuasion and duty, and was consequently suspended. In the great parish of Hoenigern, pastor Kellner adopted measures for a more powerful opposition. Before the arrival of the commissioners of the consistory, he surrendered the church keys, and church property, into the hands of 40 elders chosen from the congregation, who received the commission with their minister at their head, singing psalms, and who gave a decided No to the question if they would receive the new liturgy and agenda. The commissioners were not admitted into the church; and when they pronounced a sentence of suspension against Kellner, he protested against their authority as not representing

the true Lutheran church by law established in the land. Kellner and his elders were arrested and imprisoned at Breslau; but when the minister appointed as his successor came to perform the church service according to the new agenda, he found the church doors nailed, and a crowd of people obstructing the entrance. On the 20th December, 1834, a body of 400 infantry, 50 hussars, and 50 cuirassiers, marched from Breslau to this recusant parish of Hoenigern. The civil and clerical authorities again tried in vain to induce the people to accept the new service. Their elders and pastor had been twelve weeks in prison, but they continued obstinate; and, at last, on Christmas eve, the military took possession of the church, forced open the door by a petard, and dispersed the people by a charge of cavalry, in which some twenty persons were wounded. The interim minister was thus intruded into the church, and the new service was performed on Christmas day, but it was to a congregation of soldiers only; for not one parishioner was to be seen in the church. It was necessary to resort to other measures to obtain a real congregation for the new service and the stormed parish church. The military were stationed in the villages of the parish, and each recusant householder was punished by having ten or twelve soldiers quartered on him. The soldiers themselves were to exhort their landlords to go to the church, that they might be relieved from the ruinous quartering of men upon them, and those who would not conform were exposed to gross ill usage. These are the peasants, who, ruined by this persecution, sought a refuge in America.

The diffusion of education may be great in Prussia; but its influences have certainly not yet reached the governing class in the community: for these are scenes, persecutions, and principles of royal power, more like the history of the religious persecutions in Scotland and England under the Stuart family, two hundred years ago, than events not four years old, among the most educated people in Europe, and in which their government itself took the initiative and the gratuitous perpetration.

If such be the state of intelligence of the educating governing class in Prussia upon the simple point of religious toleration, one looks with curiosity to the state of intelligence upon religion, of this governed, educated people.

Among all the aberrations from true religion, and often from

common sense, of the countless sects our uneducated people are divided into (including even Johanna Southcote's followers, the Mormonites, Socialists, and the thousand others which appear and disappear amidst our freedom of all religious opinions), no aberration from the laws of morality, decency, or admitted social virtue, has ever been able to exist. All will be good and religious in their way; and it is only in their way and ideas of being religious, not in their way and ideas of being good, that they differ. Left to act and think for themselves, the people may take different speculative doctrines in religion; but in the practical doctrines which have a reference to real life, the public mind with us is well educated, and takes invariably the one moral doctrine applicable to social affairs. In Prussia, the people, not accustomed to act or think for themselves, are like children escaping from school, and rush into speculations in religion, politics, and morals, altogether absurd in the estimation of the more highly educated public mind of this country, accustomed to apply principle to action as free agents in all social movement. In this way one must account for the singular fact, that the only positively immoral religious sect of the present times, in the Christian world, arose, and has spread itself in the most educated part of the most educated country in Europe—in and about Königsberg, the capital of the province of Old Prussia. The Muckers are a sect who combine lewdness with religion. The name, Mucker, is said to be derived from a local, or sporting term, indicating the rutting season of hares. The conventicles of this sect are frequented by men and women in a state of nudity; and to excite the animal passion, but to restrain its indulgence, is said to constitute their religious exercise. Many of the highest nobility of the province, and two of the established clergy of the city, besides citizens, artificers, and ladies, old and young, belong to this sect; and two young ladies are stated to have died from the consequences of excessive libidinous excitement It is no secret association of profligacy shunning the light. It is a sect, according to the declarations of Von Tippelskirch, and of several persons of consideration in Königsberg who had been followers of it themselves, existing very extensively under the leadership of the established ministers of the gospel, Ebel and Diestel, of a Count Von Kaniz, of a lady Von S———, and of other noble persons, and of several of the citizen class; and it appears that a great part of the nobility of the province belong to it. The

notice of the government was first attracted to its existence by a complaint to the consistory, of a Count Von Fink, who had been a zealous member of the sect, that the minister Ebel, one of the pastors of the city, and who is one of its leaders, had attempted to seduce his wife, under the pretext of procreating a Messias. The consistory appointed two commissioners to examine, and report to government upon this business. The system and theory of this dreadful combination of vice with religion are of course very properly suppressed. All that can be gathered from the Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung of 1836, and the historical writings of that year, is that this horrible sect was spread so widely that the official people were themselves slow in the investigation of the matter, and that the countess who had disclosed the practices of the sect was in danger from their fury, and had to be protected by the police—that a very strict hierarchy existed in the sect, that it was divided in three classes, and that the apprenticeship in the first class must be accomplished, before the reception into the second class; and that the strictest trials were required for being admitted into the third class, of which the members were called by a name of honour—that the doctrine and practice of the Muckers were a mixture of mysticism and gnosticism, of fanaticism and lust; and that the heroes and heroines who had sustained the trials of their continence, or power over the flesh, were rewarded with the *seraphim kiss* with which the most abominable excesses were connected. The government wisely suppressed the examinations and proceedings, although copies of some of the first official reports and depositions had got into circulation among the curious, and the case was transferred from the local courts of the province to Berlin for further consideration in 1837, but nothing since has been made known to the public on the subject. The sect itself appears by Dr. Bretschneider's account of it, to have been so generally diffused, that he says, "It cannot be believed that the public functionaries were in ignorance of its existence, but that they were afraid to do their duty from the influence of the many principal people who were involved in it."* In his honest indignation he proposes, as the only means of extirpating it, that all religious meetings, all conventicles, missionary societies, religious tract societies, and in short all pious doings of the public

* See Dr. Karl Venturini's Neue Historische Schriften, Brunswick, 1839; also Algemeine Kirchenzeitung, Jahr, 1836, No. 50; also Pragmatische Geschichte unserer Zeit, das Jahr, 1835, Leipsic, 1837; for what is known to the public respecting the Muckers.

among themselves, should be put down by the state. This remedy is a little too Prussian, dreadful as the enormity is in a civilised country of such a sect having existed in this age. It is only in the history of Otaheite, that its parallel can be found.

A great deal of delusion on the subject of national education has arisen from confounding the means with the end—the admirable means for diffusing reading, writing, and such acquirements, first adopted on the great scale by the Prussian government, with the end and object of education—the raising the religious, moral, and social character of men as intellectual free agents. It is only by free institutions in society that the moral, religious, and intellectual endowments of the human mind are exercised and educated. The mere operations of reading and writing, nay, the acquisition of knowledge itself, are but the means, not the end, and, if carried even to the utmost perfection, do not necessarily exercise and educate the moral powers of the human mind—the judgment, the self-restraint, the self-government, the application of principle to action, and of action to principle in our social relations. We see every day in individuals that the mental powers and the moral and religious principle are in a very low, uncultivated state, although education, in its ordinary sense, has done its utmost, and reading, writing, languages, accomplishments, and knowledge have been extensively acquired. There is, in reality, a social education of the human mind, more important than its scholastic education, and not at all necessarily connected with it. This, the only true national or general education of a people, can only be given where man is a free agent living under social institutions in which he acts for himself, politically and morally, and applies by himself, and not by the order and under guidance of the state or its functionaries, the principles of justice, law, morality, religion, which should guide his conduct as a member of society. This exercise, or education of the human mind, is wanting in the social economy of Prussia, in which men are in a state of pupilage as members of society, and not of free agency. No amount of scholastic education, of reading, writing, or information can make up for this want of moral self-education by the free exercise of the individual's judgment in all the social relations of life. It is thus that the existence of this sect of the Muckers among the most highly educated, that is, scholastically educated people in Europe, must be accounted for. Their school acquirements have had no influence on their moral state—or rather have had a per-

nicious influence on it, as being part of a social system in which the human mind is dormant, is trained to act without thinking, and under orders, instead of exerting its own judgment and exercising free agency and reflection in its own moral, religious, and social affairs. In true moral social education the Prussian people, from the nature of their government and social economy, necessarily stand lower than the lowest of our own unlettered population.

In the importance attached to the Prussian arrangements, or means for diffusing scholastic education, there is also much delusion. Reading, writing, arithmetic, and all other scholastic acquirements follow evidently the same law as all other human wants—the demand will produce the supply. Create a demand for such acquirements, for knowledge, for educated labour of any kind, and people will educate themselves up to that demand. The reduction of the postage in Britain has created this demand with us, has given to such acquirements a value almost entirely wanting before in the position of the labouring man; and this measure is bringing out the schoolmaster, without the machinery of national arrangements for education. The social value or importance of the Prussian arrangements for diffusing national scholastic education has been evidently overrated; for now that the whole system has been in the fullest operation in society upon a whole generation, we see morals and religion in a more unsatisfactory state in this very country than in almost any other in the north of Europe; we see nowhere a people in a more abject political and civil condition, or with less free agency in their social economy. A national education, which gives a nation neither religion, nor morality, nor civil liberty, nor political liberty, is an education not worth having.

Truly much humbug has been played off by literary men—unwittingly, no doubt, for they themselves were sincere dupes—upon the pious and benevolent feelings of the European public, with regard to the excellence of the Prussian educational system. They have only looked at the obvious, almost mechanical means, of diffusing instruction, viz., schools for teaching the people to read and write, and have, in their estimate and recommendation of the means, altogether overlooked the all-important circumstance that, if these means are not in free action, they will not produce the end—the moral and religious improvement of the people—and that the almost mechanical arts of reading and writing may be acquired with as little moral, religious, or

even intellectual improvement of the human mind, as the manual or platoon exercise. In their admiration of the wheels and machinery, these literary men have forgotten to look under the table, and see what kind of web all this was producing. Who could suppose while reading pamphlets, reviews, and literary articles out of number on national education, and on the beautiful system, means and arrangements adopted by Prussia for educating the people, and while lost in admiration in the educational labyrinth of country schools and town schools—common schools and high schools—real schools and classical schools—gymnasia—progymnasia—normal schools—seminariums—universities—who could suppose that with all this education, no use of education is allowed—that while reading and writing are enforced upon all, thinking and the communication of thoughts are prevented by an arbitrary censorship of the press, sometimes strict, sometimes lax? Who could suppose that the only visible use to the people of Prussia of all this national education is, in reality, to write out official, civil, or military reports from inferiors to superiors—that it enters in no other way into their social affairs? Who could suppose that at the very period Victor Cousins, the Edinburgh Reviewers, and so many other eminent literary men of all countries, were extolling the national education and general acquirement of reading in Prussia, and kindling around them a holy and truly virtuous enthusiasm among the moral and religious—for the diffusion of knowledge in all countries—that the exercise of worship any where but in a church was prohibited, and made criminal in Prussia by an edictal law dated the 9th March, 1834; and that many persons were suffering imprisonment, civil disabilities or other punishments, for this Prussian crime of worshipping God in their own houses, and were only liberated and pardoned by the amnesty of August, 1840? Who could suppose that while the praises of the educational system of the Prussian government were resounding in our senate and our pulpits, this educating government was driving by religious persecution from her educated land upwards of 600 Christians, who went from Silesia to the wilds of America simply to enjoy the privileges of religious freedom, and of communicating at the altar according to the forms and doctrines of Luther or Calvin, rather than of his late Majesty? Who could suppose that while literary men were extolling the high educational state of Prussia, her moral state stood so low that such a sect as the Muckers could not only exist in the most educated

of her provinces, but could flourish openly, and number among its members, clergy, nobility, and educated and influential people? These writers had evidently been deceiving themselves and the public; had looked no further than the means of education; and had hastily concluded that these means must necessarily be producing the end. If to read, write, cipher, and sing, be education, they are quite right—the Prussian subject is an educated man. If to reason, judge, and act as an independent free agent, in the religious, moral, and social relations of man to his Creator, and to his fellow-men, be that exercise of the mental powers which alone deserves the name of education, then is the Prussian subject a mere drum boy in education, in the cultivation and use of all that regards the moral and intellectual endowments of man, compared to one of the unlettered population of a free country. The dormant state of the public mind on all affairs of public interest, the acquiescence in a total want of political influence or existence, the intellectual dependence upon the government or its functionary in all the affairs of the community, the abject submission to the want of freedom or free agency in thoughts, words, or acts, the religious thraldom of the people to forms which they despise, the want of influence of religious and social principle in society, justify the conclusion that the moral, religious and social condition of the people was never looked at or estimated by those writers who were so enthusiastic in their praises of the national education of Prussia. The French writers took up the song from the band of Prussian pensioned literati of Berlin, and the English from the French writers; and so the song has gone round Europe without any one taking the trouble to inquire what this educational system was producing; whether it had elevated, as it should have done if genuine, the moral, religious, and social position and character of the Prussian people as members of civilised society, having religious, moral, civil, and political rights and duties to enjoy and to perform.

It is to us in England, with our free institutions and individual free agency in all things, an inconsistency scarcely conceivable, that a government should give the means, nay, enforce the acquirement of the means, yet punish and suppress the use and exercise of the means it gives—should enforce education, yet deny the use and exercise of education in the duties of men, as social, moral, religious, thinking, self-acting beings. But this is the consistency of arbitrary, uncontrolled rule, and of the

juste milieu principle of government by which it seeks to continue its power. This is the government of functionarism and despotism united, endeavouring to perpetuate itself by turning the education of the people, and the means of living of a great body of civil functionaries placed over them, into a machinery for its own support.

CHAPTER VII.

DISJOINTED STATE OF PRUSSIA AS ONE NATIONAL BODY.—DIFFERENT LAWS AND ADMINISTRATIONS.—FUNCTIONARISM.—ARISTOCRACY AND FUNCTIONARISM COMPARED.

THE military system of the Prussian government not only impoverishes and demoralises the people without creating that kind of military force, which, from its offensive capability, gives a state real political weight in European affairs; but it counteracts its own object, and actually weakens the moral element of the defence of the country, in proportion to the perfection to which it carries the physical element—the military organisation. As under this system each individual is necessarily confined very much to his own military locality, the free circulation of the mass of the population through the country is impeded, and family ties, ties of acquaintanceship, of petty business, of trades, of common interests and objects, and a common spirit, can scarcely spread over adjacent provinces, much less over such a widely outstretched land. This military system with its pendant, the civil system, is the only thing common to all. The people of distant provinces have no common interests or objects amalgamating them into one whole—no liberties, laws, constitutional rights, common to all, to rally upon.

"What is it to me if the French are on the Rhine," would be the reasonable feeling of every man north of the Oder, when called out for actual service in the field—"if they come to us we will defend ourselves, but what have we to do with these countries?" The different provinces of the Prussian kingdom are, in fact, not amalgamated by mutual trade and communications, not united by their material interests. They are connected together only in a common bureau at Berlin, but are distinct existences in all that binds men together. The people can scarcely be called one nation. They are centralised but not nationalised.

But is loyalty, is the devoted attachment of the subject to the adored and beneficent monarch, to go for nothing in this cold-hearted estimate of the connection between a country and its government, and of the impulses which lead a gallant people

to fly to arms, and defend with their lives and fortunes the rights of their beloved sovereign? Let him who asks turn up a file of old newspapers, and he will there find his answer. He will there find the same effusions of enthusiastic loyalty and devotedness from the same towns, provinces, and people—to King Jerom of Westphalia, that are now addressed to his majesty Frederick William IV. of Prussia—to King Louis of Holland, that are now addressed to King William of Orange. Change names, and dates, and the one would do for the other. It is within the verge of possibility that the same pen and the same scribe copied, and the same burgomasters or other official personages presented the same, the identical addresses to both monarchs, containing the same assurances of the inviolable attachment, the devoted zeal to the royal house, and the beloved sovereign, of the most loyal and faithful of subjects. The age of loyalty expired amidst the laughter of the world, when the Buonaparte brood of kings and princes exchanged their straw stools in Ajaccio, for thrones, and were treated in their Baratrarias with all the honour, adulation, and devoted loyalty, that the "lives and fortunes men" of the day in Holland and Germany could muster. There was a moment in this half century, when royalty and aristocracy might have restored themselves to their ancient social position, by an act of great moral justice to society, by reducing to their original nothingness the swarms of counts, princes, dukes, marshals, who have been elevated to social distinction by no social, intellectual, or moral worth or merit, but merely by chance, favouritism, or dexterity in unprincipled military achievement; and by restoring to the countries, cities, communities, and individuals, the riches expressed from them by these personages in the shape of contributions, dons, taxes, and which, in reality, were unmilitary booty and illegal rapine. The allied powers overlooked or disdained, in the pride of victory, the opportunity of uniting the monarchical and aristocratical principles which they wished to re-establish, with the principle of moral justice. They themselves, by thus contaminating the conventional reverence for the monarchical and aristocratic elements of society which they wished to revive, reduced the ties between the European people and their governments to that of their material interests. The constitutional states have endeavoured to strengthen this tie by giving the people a voice in the management of their own affairs, a representation in the legislature. Prussia endeavours to manage the material interests of

the people without the people, without a constitution ; and as loyalty and aristocratical influence in the social body are undeniably effete as principles of national movement, her government is connected with her people only by two ties—that of the military army with its officers, and that of the civil army with its functionaries. Compared with Britain or America, the kingdom of Prussia is in a very disjointed state, owing to this entire reliance upon the civil and military power, without any connection between the government and the people in the management of their material interests. The material interests of the people, even among themselves, those of the different provinces of Prussia, are not amalgamated. There are no common interests, common laws, common religion, common voice in the legislation of their common country, uniting all. In that most important perhaps of all the elements of social union in a country—the law and its administration—differences and confusion prevail. The different shreds torn from other countries, of which the kingdom is composed, retain, in some degree, each its own laws, forms of judicature, religion, and rights, inalienable even by despotic power, unless with the will and concurrence of the people themselves. The power which alone could, with safety to the government, touch and change these, the power of the people in legislative assembly, will not be conceded by the autocratic government, so that the country remains in a chaotic state, governed as one, but not united. In the country west of the Rhine, and also in those provinces east of that river, of which Cologne, Dusseldorf, Elberfeld, Lenney, Solingen, Coblenz, are the chief towns, the French law and its administration, the *Code Napoléon, Code de Commerce, Code de Procédure Civile, Code Criminel, the Justice de Paix, Tribuneaux de première Instance, &c.*, are all retained, and are so firmly rooted in the affections of the people, that no government could venture to alter them unless by a constitutional act of a representative assembly of the people themselves. On this point these provinces have given manifestations of their sentiments not to be mistaken, when the government has proposed assimilations in the laws or tribunals to those of Prussia. This population living under French law, is the very kernel of the Prussian kingdom—a concentrated population of from three to four millions, the most wealthy, commercial, and manufacturing, and the most enlightened upon their rights and wants of any perhaps in Germany. In the Province of Posen, again, at the other extremity of the kingdom the French administration by

justices de paix, and by open courts of justice, and open examinations of witnesses, prevails over the general Prussian administration.

In the provinces which were mediatised, and even in the provinces which had long been under the Prussian sceptre, baronial courts were a species of private property which could not be taken away from the estate of the prince or baron. Government always had the needful check over the patron, in his appointing none as judges but from legally qualified persons bred at the universities—as in the appointment of a clergyman by a patron—and also over the judge, in superintending, revising, or reversing his judicial proceedings; but such courts have the inhabitants of certain districts thirled to them, in cases civil or criminal, in the first instance; and forms, expenses, conveniences to suitors, and confidence in justice, are, necessarily, very different in a multiplicity of different local courts established at different periods, and originally with different usages. Deducting the population of the provinces standing altogether under the Code Napoléon, of the remaining 10,000,000 of people under the Prussian sceptre, 3,700,000, or about one-third of the whole population of Prussia, are under private jurisdiction, and 7,900,000 only under the royal governmental courts. Of the royal governmental courts, not including the higher courts of appeal, there are 7,018, and of private courts, 6,134, of which 128 are of the patrimony of princes, standesherrn or high nobility, and of provincial nobility, and 6,006 are common baronial courts of patrimony. The judges in these patrimonial local courts appear to be paid either by fees or by dues from all the peasantry within the circle of the jurisdiction, or by land mortified in old times, for the support of the judge; but appear to be so ill paid, that, like curates of old in Kent, one judge officiates in eight, or even twelve, of these local courts. The total number of judges in the 6,134 private courts is but 523. The greatest number of inhabitants subject to these local patrimonial courts, is in Silesia, where, out of 2,500,000 people, 1,500,000 are under barony courts. The smallest number is in Westphalia, where, in a population of 1,300,000 people, only about 80,000 are under these patrimonial jurisdictions, the system having been abolished almost entirely, when Westphalia was erected into a distinct kingdom for Jerome Buonaparte. Of royal or regular governmental courts, the number in Prussia appears to be 7,018, and of judges paid by government 2,325, of whom 1,593 are judges in the inferior local courts. The total

number of all functionaries living by the administration of law, and appointed by government, appears to be 11,401 persons. It is the first law of functionarism to take care of itself. To reduce to uniformity the administration of law, and the law courts, among a people, appears one of the most needful steps towards an amalgamation of the whole into one nation, and, if strong measures were a-going, one of the most important to which a strong measure could be applied, especially as these patrimonial courts are founded on no principle of advantage or convenience to the people, or of just right of the baronial proprietor. But it would have been a curtailment of the living to be gained in function, a reform not to be expected from a government of functionaries. Until this, however, be done, the people of Prussia can scarcely be called one nation. The state wants unity.

In the provinces, also, clipped out of ancient Poland, which are not inconsiderable, the province of Posen alone, containing nearly one million and a half of inhabitants, a strong anti-Prussian spirit, and not a passive spirit, prevails among all ranks. Since the accession of the present king, the nobility there have refused to accept the constitution of a provincial assembly of the Standesherrn, or nobles of a certain class, to deliberate upon such provincial affairs as the king may order to be laid before them, which is the kind of representative Constitution proposed to be substituted in Prussia for that constitutional representation of the people in the legislature promised by the late king—and avowedly upon the principle that they do not choose to be amalgamated with Prussia, and placed upon the same footing as the other provinces of the Prussian dominions. They will stand by their Polish nationality. It is this spirit, and not fanaticism alone, that was at work in this part of the kingdom, in supporting the bishop of Posen and the Catholic clergy in resisting the church measures of government. Independently of the influence of the clergy, the Polish nationality is increasing to such alarming intensity in this quarter, that obscure state paragraphs have been inserted in the foreign newspapers admitted into Prussia—those of Augsburg, Frankfort, or Leipsic—to prepare the public mind in Prussia for some strong measure to put it down—some attempt, similar to the Russian, to abolish by law the Polish language, customs, and national distinctions. It is a curious trait in the working of a censorship of the press, and of public opinion on public affairs, that an autocratic irresponsible government must condescend to cheat its own establishments, and avail itself of the

press of a foreign town to sound the public opinion of its own subjects upon its own intentions. Can such a state of things be permanent? Is such a principle of government as this autocratic principle, suitable to the advanced condition of the subjects of Prussia? Are the relations between the governing and the governed what they ought to be? The Prussian government wants to nationalise its subjects, and yet puts down the means of obtaining its own object. It wants to rouse a national spirit, yet would have the public mind passive, calm, and unagitated by political discussions of the press, or of public meetings, or by free communications on public affairs. It wants to sail with a fair gale of wind, yet to keep the sea smooth and unruffled by the agitation which unavoidably attends the gale.

The traveller inimical to hereditary aristocracy as a privileged state power in a community—not from prejudice or party feeling, but on principle, as an institution adverse to a liberal social economy—will find much to shake his opinions when he sits down here on the Continent to consider deliberately the power which has succeeded to aristocracy in France, Prussia, and generally in the modern social economy of Europe. Aristocracy, it is evident, has worked itself out, and is effete in every country, even in those, as Sweden, Denmark, Spain, in which it had not been formally abolished or undermined by law. Where it still stands, with all its ancient supports, it is evidently going to decay, and has lost its roots in modern society. But the power which has sprung up in its place—the power of functionarism—is by no means satisfactory. It is aristocracy without the advantages of aristocracy. The highest functionary is not an independent man. He has been bred in a school of implicit, almost military, submission of his own opinion to authority—has attained power through the path of subjection of his own principles and judgment to those of others above him. He has no independence of mind. Such public men in the higher offices of government, as our hereditary aristocracy and gentry on all sides of politics produce—men not to be swayed from what they hold to be right, and who renounce office rather than consistency and independent judgment—are not to be heard of in the functionarism of the Continent. The nobleman, generally speaking, is an educated man from his social position, and not educated merely for functionary duties, with the contracted views of office. He is also, generally speaking, independent in position and circumstances, and the public opinion and judgment of his

political conduct is an influence more powerful with him than with the office-bred functionary. He is working for a reward, and under a check from public opinion which neither the supreme power of the state, nor its subordinate powers above him, or beside him, can give, or take away, or compensate for, if it be lost by the course of his political conduct in public affairs. The functionary is not only independent of public opinion, but is bred up in a social system which has no reference to it, in which it is set at nought, and in which it can give him no support or reward for the sacrifice of office to principle, or of his own individual material interests to his political interests. As a state power, or social body, functionarism compared to aristocracy is much more detached from the cause of the people. It is also, as a state power, much more dangerous to the monarch. It is a mistake to consider functionarism, as it now exists on the Continent, a machine in the hands of despotic, autocratic sovereigns. It is a machine which governs the government. The history of France, from the hour that the military support of Buonaparte was broken at Moscow, shows that the crown itself is altogether in the gift of this new state power. The history of Belgium, of Spain, of Russia, tells the same fact. It is considered by many, that here, in Prussia, it is functionarism, not royalty, that rules. The body of functionaries are like the body of clergy in the middle ages. The men are of one mind, bred in one school, with one spirit. The monarch has but a small number to choose from of men around the throne qualified to conduct or advise public measures. These are all men bred in the same way—men of the same ideas, mind, and spirit. It is but a change of persons and faces about him, not of principles or system, that the monarch attains by a change of ministers. He is in a position very similar to that of his predecessors in the middle ages, when churchmen held all state affairs in their hands. Since the decay of hereditary aristocracy, a power remarkably similar to that exercised by the priesthood in the middle ages—a body similarly constituted to the clerical, and in the same relative position to the sovereign and the people—is establishing a thraldom over both. The sovereign and the people have no free political action, or mutual working upon each other, through this wall of functionarism that divides them. In the hereditary aristocracy, the monarch had a selection of men bred in all varieties of social position—not as the functionary or the priest, in only one contracted sphere of action or thinking—and of all varieties of

mental power, and, although connected by their material interests as a body with the welfare of the people, united to the personality of the crown by their individual honours, privileges, and social distinctions. The functionaries are only united to each other, and, like the clergy, are a body distinct both from the sovereign and the people, in interests and social relations. The habit of interfering, regulating, commanding in the concerns of the people, gives both to them and the people, a feeling of opposed interests and objects, not a feeling of mutual confidence. The functionary in Germany, even in the lowest station, is always treated, and his wife also, with the full ceremonial of his title of office, which shows that his relation to the people is not one of mutual confidence. The evil effect on the industry, and independence of mind, of a people, by such a mass of government employment with social influence and easy living, being offered to the higher, middle, and small capitalist classes, has been already stated; and also that this is the main obstacle to the development of national industry and wealth, and to that progress in trade and manufacture which the German people are at present dreaming of. Free social institutions also, the only foundation of national prosperity, moral free agency, civil and political liberty, never can grow up under the pressure of this state power drawn from the upper and middle classes, influenced by one spirit, and interested as a body in maintaining the importance, means of living, and patronage, derived from a multitude of functions established for restraining, or entirely superseding, free social institutions, free agency, and civil or political liberty. Functionarism is more adverse than aristocracy to civil liberty. Will the great social movement of the German people now in progress for their material interests and industrial prosperity, be able to shake off this incubus, to break up the system of interference, superintendence, and military arrangement on the part of government in all social action, upon which functionarism is founded, and by which it lives? Will the Continental sovereigns, acting in the spirit of the German commercial league, and in reality for their own independence and power, abandon the military system of interference in all things, and of governing by functionaries instead of by the people? Will they fall back now, as some day they will be obliged to do, for support against the power of functionarism, upon the power of the people in a representative constitution? Or will they attempt to stick up again the dead branches of hereditary aristocracy around the

throne? The future state of society on the Continent turns on the solution which time and circumstances may give to these questions. The spirit raised by the German commercial league is hastening on their solution rapidly. One is already solved —the restoration of an hereditary privileged aristocracy in Prussia.

The Prussian government has, of late years, been aware of the false position in which it stands—admitting no principle but the purely monarchical autocratic principle exercised by its functionaries; and yet encouraging the growth of a state of society, wealth, industry, and national spirit, directly opposed to that principle, and which can only exist where the people partake of their own government and legislation. The policy of late has evidently been to retrace its steps. The dissolution of the Prussian church, and the return to the old forms and spirit of the two branches of Protestantism, especially to the pietism of the old Lutheran church, is talked of as the wish and tendency of the court; and it is even whispered that the abolition of the *leibeigenschaft*, or feudal servitude of the peasantry, and of the privileges and exclusive rights of corporate bodies in towns, is talked of in high places as having been a hasty measure. And undoubtedly so it was, if the monarchical autocratic principle was to be retained. At the coronation of his present majesty in August last, in Königsburg, an attempt was made to begin the restoration of an hereditary class of nobles. It was proposed to elevate some of the wealthiest of the present nobility to the rank of princes, and to make the new dignity hereditary in the eldest sons, instead of descending, as the present titles do, to all the children; and the new nobles were to be bound to entail a certain proportion of their estates upon the successors to their titles. The proposal, however, met with no acceptance. With almost all, the estates were so burdened that it could not be done without injury to their creditors. Others considered it would be an injustice to their younger children. Some declined the proffered honours point blank. The diet or provincial assembly of the standesherrn of Königsburg, for deliberating on the provincial affairs laid before them—which is the substitute given for a constitutional government—although assembled for the coronation, and to whose members this offer was made, rejected it, and even adopted a petition for a representative constitution of the people, as promised to them by the late king under date of the 25th May, 1815, to which they referred. The city of

Breslau, the third in importance in the kingdom, standing next to Berlin and Königsburg, adopted a similar petition and reference. Cologne also made a similar move. These are strong indications of the rising spirit of the times—of the split between things as they are and the sentiments of the influential classes of the country. A retrograde movement is evidently impossible; and it is equally impossible to stand still, with the whole material interests of the people, and their opinions and feelings for political existence in the legislation excited by the spirit of the German commercial league, and pushing on the government in a path which the government is pledged to take, in which its steps are watched by the people, and which necessarily and unavoidably leads to free institutions, a representative constitution, and the abolition of the present sole monarchical, autocratic principle.

CHAPTER VIII.

BERLIN—LEIPSIC—BOOK TRADE—ITS EFFECTS ON THE LITERATURE—ON THE CHARACTER—ON THE SOCIAL CHARACTER OF THE GERMANS—THE GERMAN THEATRE—ITS INFLUENCE—THE EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCES IN SOCIETY—THE SCOTCH AND THE GERMANS COMPARED

Berlin has the air of the metropolis of a kingdom of yesterday. No Gothic churches, narrow streets, fantastic gable ends, no historical stone and lime, no remnants of the picturesque ages, recall the olden time. Voltaire in satin breeches and powdered peruke, Frederic the Great in jackboots and pigtail, and the French classical age of Louis XIV., are the men and times Berlin calls up to the imagination of the traveller. A fine city, however, Berlin is—very like the age she represents—very fine and very nasty. Berlin is a city of palaces, that is, of huge barrack-like edifices with pillars, statues, and all the regular frippery of the tawdry school of classical French architecture—all in stucco, and frequently out at elbows, discovering the naked brick under the tattered yellow faded covering of plaster. The fixtures which strike the eye in the streets of Berlin are vast fronts of buildings, clumsy ornaments, clumsy statues, clumsy inscriptions, a profusion of gilding, guard-houses, sentry-boxes: the moveables are sentries presenting arms every minute, officers with feathers and orders passing unceasingly, hackney droskies rattling about, and numbers of well-dressed people. The streets are spacious and straight, with broad margins on each side for foot passengers; and a band of plain flag-stones on these margins make them much more walkable than the streets of most Continental towns. But these margins are divided from the spacious carriage-way in the middle by open kennels, telling the nose unutterable things. These open kennels are boarded over only at the gateways of the palaces to let the carriages cross them, and must be particularly convenient for the inhabitants, for they are not at all particularly agreeable. Use reconciles people to nuisances which might be easily removed. A sluggish but considerable river, the Spree, stagnates through the town, and the money laid out in stucco work, and outside decoration of the houses, would go far towards

covering over their drains, raising the water by engines, and sending it in a purifying stream through every street and sewer. If bronze and marble could smell, Blucher and Bulow, Schwerin and Zeithen, and duck-winged angels, and two-headed eagles innumerable, would be found on their pedestals, holding their noses instead of grasping their swords. It is a curious illustration of the difference between the civilisation of the fine arts and that of the useful arts, in their influences on social well-being, that this city, as populous as Glasgow or Manchester, has an Italian opera, two or three theatres, a vast picture gallery, and statue gallery, and museums of all kinds, a musical academy, schools of all descriptions, an university with 142 professors, the most distinguished men of science who can be collected in Germany, and is undoubtedly the capital, the central point of taste in the fine arts, and of mind and intelligence in literature, for a vast proportion of the enlightened and refined of the European population, and yet has not advanced so far in the enjoyments and comforts of life, in the civilisation of the useful arts, as to have water conveyed in pipes into their city, and into their houses. Three hundred thousand people have taste enough to be in die-away extasies at the singing of Madame Pasta, or the dancing of Taglioni, and have not taste enough to appreciate, or feel the want of, a supply of water in their kitchens, sculleries, drains, sewers, water-closets. The civilisation of an English village is, after all, more real civilisation than that of Paris or Berlin.

Leipsic, remarkably in contrast with Berlin, is a city of the middle ages—balconies projecting into the streets, old forms and fashions about the people and their dwellings—nothing of the Parisian air, nothing of the Frenchified German air about them. Everything is downright German, and plain unsophisticated German burgess style. This is the capital of the middle class of Germany—of the class which has nothing to do with nobility, or with military, or civil service as a way of living, which has not its great money merchants, bankers, contractors of loans, millionaires, like Frankfort; but has its very substantial, and some very wealthy, quiet-living burgesses. The traveller who could get into the domestic society of this town—which even native Germans cannot easily do—would see, it is said, more of old Germany, more of the houses, habits, and modes of living of two centuries ago, than in any other place. A very respectable people these Leipsickers are, and precisely because they affect to be nothing more. Their book trade is of such importance, that the booksellers, of whom there are reckoned at the

fairs about 560, and many of them settled in Leipsic, have a large Exchange of their own to transact their business in. It is not, however, the printing and publishing in Leipsic itself, that is the basis of these book fairs, but the barter of publications between booksellers meeting there from different points. The bookseller, perhaps, from Kiel on the Baltic, meets and exchanges publications with the bookseller, perhaps, from Zurich, gives so many copies of his publication—a dull sermon possibly—for so many of the other's—an entertaining novel. Each gets an assortment of goods by this traffic, such as he knows will suit his customers, out of a publication of which he could not, perhaps, sell a score of copies within his own circle; but a score sold in every bookselling circle in Germany gets rid of an edition. Suppose the work out and out stupid and unsaleable, still it has its value; it is exchangeable, should it be only at the value of wrapping-paper, for works less unsaleable, and puts the publisher in possession of a saleable stock and of a variety of works. His profit also not depending altogether upon the merit of the one work he publishes, but upon the assortment for sale he can make out of it by barter, he can afford to publish works of a much lower class as to merit, or saleable properties, than English publishers. The risk is divided, and also the loss, and not merely divided among all the booksellers who take a part of an edition in exchange for part of their own publications; but in effect is divided among the publications. The standard work, or the new publication of an author of celebrity, pays the risk or loss of the publisher of the bad, unsaleable work, as by it he is put in possession of the former, of the more saleable goods. The loss, also, compared to that of an English publisher, is trifling, because, although the German press can deliver magnificent books, yet the general taste of the public for neat, fine, well-finished productions in printing, as in all the useful arts, is not by any means so fully developed as with us, and is satisfied with very inferior paper made of much cheaper materials. The publisher also is saved the very important expense of stitching, boarding, or binding all he publishes, by his own capital, the private buyer generally taking his books in sheets. The bound or made up books in booksellers' shops are but few, and generally only those of periodical or light literature. The advantage to literature of this system into which the book trade has settled, is that hundreds of works see the light, which with us would never get to the printing-house at all. The disadvantage is that it encourages a prolixity of style, both in

thinking and expression, two or three ideas are spun out into a volume, and literature is actually overwhelmed and buried under its own fertility and fruits. No human powers could wade through the flood of publication poured out every half year upon every conceivable subject. Selection even, in such an overwhelming mass is out of the question, unless the catalogue-selection of judging from the reputation of the author, that the book may be worth reading. In our small book-world, periodical criticism—our quarterlies and literary newspapers—keeps the ordinary reader up to the current stream of literary production; but who could get through the pile of periodicals published in Germany, and find time to eat, drink, and sleep? It is as at their table d'hôte—the guest tastes this thing, and tastes that, and rises without having made so wholesome and substantial a meal as he would have done from one or two dishes. This superabundance, and the excess of employment to the mind about other people's ideas, influences the general literature of Germany. Men, whose talents entitle them to be original in literary production, are but imitative. Their great original authors, Goëthe, Schiller, or Richter, or our great authors, Shakspeare, Scott, Byron, give the tunes which the crowd of German writers are whistling through the streets. This imitative turn, and the excess of literary production, influence even the material interests and character of the German people. In politics, in social economy, in religion, and perhaps even in morals, and the regulation of conduct, principles and opinions seem to have no time to take root, and to influence the actual doings of men—conviction is but loosely connected with action. The latter by no means follows the former, even when not drawn aside by prejudice, passion, or self-interest. All is speculation, not reality. Every German seems to have two worlds for himself—a world of idea, and a world of reality; and the former appears to have as little connection with the latter, as the evening of the monarch on the stage with the morning of the actor in his lodgings. This division of life into two distinct existences, this living in a world of reveries, this wide separation between ideas and realities, between thoughts and actions, common perhaps to all men of intellectual cultivation, is so widely diffused in Germany, that it sensibly influences its social economy. All evaporates in speculation. Books, and theories, and principles, are published and read, and there the matter rests. A new set of books, theories, and principles, is published, and overwhelms the first, but all this never goes

beyond the world of idea in which half their existence is passed. Improvement, reform, movement of any kind in social business or real life, either for the better or the worse, stand still, because real life is but half their existence. Leave them the other half, their ideal world, to expatiate in—and that cannot be circumscribed by any kind of government—and they quietly put up with restrictions and burdens in real life, which in our social economy would not be endured. Energy of mind and vigour of action in the real affairs of ordinary life are diluted and weakened by this life of dreamy speculation. We sometimes see individuals among ourselves, novel-reading, romantic youths, forming a little world for themselves from the shelves of the circulating library, and dreaming away life in it. The literature, scholarship, and wide diffusion of the culture of the imaginative faculty in Germany are, in this view, actually detrimental to the social development of the German people, to their industry, material interests, and activity in ordinary affairs of a mechanical kind, and to their energy and interest in claiming and exercising civil liberty or free-agency in real life.

This double existence of the Germans accounts for some peculiarities in German literature. German authors, both the philosophic and the poetic, address themselves to a public far more intellectual and more highly cultivated than our reading public. They address themselves, in fact, in their philosophical works, like the ancient Greek philosophers, to schools or bodies of disciples who must have attained a peculiar and considerable cultivation of mind to understand them. The philosophy of Kant occupied Schiller, we are told in his biography, for three years of intense and exclusive study. In our literature, the most obscure and abstruse of metaphysical or philosophical writers take the public mind in a far lower state, simply cognisant of the meaning of language, and possessed of the ordinary reasoning powers. Locke, Dugald Stewart, Reid, Smith, Hume, require nothing more. Shakspeare, Scott, Byron, require nothing more. German literature, even of the imaginative class, requires a highly cultivated imaginative faculty from the readers. Goëthe's Faust, his Wilhelm Meister, many of Schiller's tragedies, all of Jean Paul Richter's productions, require readers trained, like the readers of Kant or Fichte, in a certain school, and to a certain considerable intellectual culture. Their philosophers and poets do not, like ours, address themselves to the meanest capacity. The social influence of German literature is, conse-

quently, confined within a narrower circle. It has no influence on the mind of the lower, or even of the middle classes in active life, who have not the opportunity or leisure to screw their faculties up to the pitch-note of their great writers. The reading public must devote much time to acquire the knowledge, tone of feeling, and of imagination, necessary to follow the writing public. The social economist finds accordingly in Germany the most extraordinary dulness, inertness of mind, and ignorance, below a certain level, with the most extraordinary intellectual development, learning, and genius at or above it—the most extraordinary intellectual contrast between the professional reading classes, and the lower or even middle non-reading classes engaged in the ordinary affairs of life.

Another peculiarity in German literature arising from the social economy of the country, is, that the class of literary composition to which the works of Shakspeare, Cervantes, Scott, Le Sage, Fielding, Goldsmith, belong as pictures of natural action and character, is poorly filled up. Situation and plot, not delineations of characters and incidents "true to nature," are the points on which the highest efforts of dramatic and poetic genius in German literature are the most happy. It is in the ideal world that the German mind is developed. The action of man upon man, the development of character and individual peculiarity by free social movement, are so restricted and tied down to uniformity by the social economy of Germany, that the author in this class of composition finds no type of reality around him for the imagination to work upon. It would be difficult to point out any character, speech, or passage from the German drama that has become popular literature—understood, felt, brought home to himself by the common man in Germany, in the same way that characters, expressions, verses, sentiments from Shakspeare, Burns, De Foe, Scott, are familiar to all of the slightest education in the same classes in Scotland or England. German literature is perhaps of a far higher cast, but it is not so widely diffused through the mass of the social body as our literature, although the class of people addicting themselves to it as a means of living, are more numerous than the literary class in Britain; and German literature is certainly less influential than ours on the public mind and social economy.

The theatre in Germany, and in all countries which have no civil liberty, no freedom of action independent of government,

and no free discussion of public affairs, occupies an important position in its social economy, is reckoned a great educational and social influence, a power not to be entrusted out of the hands of the state. The fictitious incidents of the drama supersede the real incidents and interests of life. In reading of the organisation of the Prussian government, the simple English reader stares at finding among the ministers of state for home affairs, for military affairs, for ecclesiastical affairs, a minister of state for theatrical affairs. He can understand that from considerations of police, the theatre may be, as with us, under a censorship, and its superintendence attached to some office about the court; but that theatres are of such importance as to be held a subject for distinct administration, and one on which considerable sums of the public revenues are regularly expended, appears extraordinary to one coming from our social state, in which dramatic representation is of no social influence whatsoever—in which it is held to be of no moral or educational value—in which theatrical performers of high talent cannot get bread in cities as populous and wealthy as Berlin. The social economist hastens to visit the German theatres, to satisfy himself that there is no mistake about this supposed social influence of the stage—to see the working of this court-machine for education on the public mind,—to see the number and quality of the usual kind of audiences, as much as to see the play.

Germany is reckoned to have 65 theatres, employing about 2,147 actors and actresses, about 1,229 singers, male and female, about 448 dancers, and about 1,273 fiddlers and other musicians. About 5,000 people in all are on the theatrical establishments of Germany as the *personale*, without including tradesmen or others not on the boards. The *Hof-theater*, or court theatre, is a necessary appendage to every little residence or capital; and it is understood that the deficit in the expense of a well-appointed theatre in a small population is made up by the state. In Berlin, even with a great and pleasure-seeking population, it is said the theatres cost the country about £15,000 a year, besides the receipts. At Berlin there are three theatres in constant work, Sunday evenings not excepted, and an Italian and a French troop are also in activity part of the year. The houses are of moderate size, elegant, and in scenery, dresses, and especially in the orchestral department, very perfect. The prices of admission are extremely low. In Berlin, for instance, you pay 15 groshen at the German theatre, or 20 at the Italian opera, viz. 1*s.* 6*d.*

or 2*s.* for a seat in the parquet, or front division of the pit of our theatres, with the advantage that each sitting is numbered, and the seat folded back, and your ticket bears the number of your seat, so that be the house ever so full, you get to it without squeezing or crowding:—great inducements these to go to the play. The time and patience of the public also, as well as their money, are respected by these state players. Owing, no doubt, to their superior discipline, a long five-act tragedy—such, for instance, as Schiller's *Marie Stewart* or *Cabale und Liebe*,—which with us would keep the audience gaping till half-past eleven, or perhaps till midnight, is performed between six and half-past nine. The play-bill tells when the performance ends, as well as when it begins, and even when three pieces are given, half-past nine is the latest hour. These are unquestionably great inducements to a good theatrical attendance of the public. But governments cannot force the intellectual movement of a people. They may establish schools, theatres, and churches, as educational means, but the using these means must be the impulse of the people themselves. You look in vain for the public in a German theatre. The public is more scarce in it than in our own. You see the travelling strangers, and the young people of the middle class, such as clerks, tradesmen, or students, when any celebrated actor or play appears; and on opera nights, the upper classes: but the people, the real people, the German equivalent, if there be any, to John Bull, you never see. If this lower class ever come to the theatres at all, they sit as quiet as mice in the little hole allotted them. A German theatre is a true picture of the social state of Germany—princes and functionaries occupying the front boxes—the educated and middle classes looking up to them from the pit below, in breathless awe and admiration, and the people out of sight and hearing of these two masses of the audience. As a social influence acting on the public mind, the German stage is of as little real importance as our own. It has to rear for itself the kind of public to whom it is of any importance. A theatrical corps and expenditure no doubt does raise a public for itself in the towns, and to them the theatre becomes important, perhaps a great deal too important, and too influential in educating the mind of that class to a sort of dreamy, imaginative, inactive life, to an undue value for appearance, show, and dress, and to an inaptness to encounter the rough realities of their social position. The social influence

of the drama is in this class—and this is the only class it effectually works upon—a positive evil, not a good.

What are the social institutions which educate a people, which form their moral, intellectual, and national character? In this land of schools and theatres, here where every individual is drilled into reading, writing, and the catechism; and the church, the playhouse, and the press, are all under the special management of the governments as influential means for the improvement of the people, in what state is the mind of the people in Germany, morally and intellectually?

To come to any satisfactory conclusion on these questions, we must define what is meant by the people. The Continental man generally means by the people the lower ranks of the middle class—the artisans, journeymen, servants, and tradesmen about towns, living more or less by educated labour, and having some degree of taste, leisure, and refinement. We mean by the people the labouring mass of a nation, living principally by agricultural work, and in every country constituting the mass of the population. We must compare this lower class in Germany with the same class amongst ourselves, and endeavour to find out the difference, and the causes of the difference in the physical and intellectual condition in each country of this lowest class of all in the community.

It is a peculiar feature in the social condition of our lowest labouring class in Scotland, that none perhaps in Europe of the same class have so few physical, and so many intellectual wants and gratifications. Luxury or even comfort in diet, or lodging, is unknown. Oatmeal, milk, potatoes, kail, herrings, and rarely salt meat, are the chief food; a wretched, dark, damp, mud-floored hovel, the usual kind of dwelling; dirt, disorder, sluttishness, and not too much good temper at the fireside, the ordinary habits of living; yet with these wants and discomforts in their physical condition, which is far below that of the same class abroad, we never miss a book, perhaps a periodical, a sitting in the kirk, a good suit of clothes for Sunday wear, and an argument every day amounting to controversy, almost to quarrel, with some equally argumentacious neighbour upon subjects far above the reach of mind of the common man in other countries, and often carried on with an acuteness, intelligence, and play of mental power, especially in the discussion of abstract philosophical or religious subjects, which the educated classes in other countries

scarcely attain, and which are strangely in contrast with the wants in their physical condition. The labouring man's subscriptions in Scotland to his book-club, his newspaper turn, his Bible society, his missionary society, his kirk and minister if he be a seceder, and his neighbourly aid of the distressed, are expenditure upon intellectual and moral gratifications of a higher cast than music-scraping, singing, dancing, playgoing, novel-reading, or other diversions of a much higher class of people in Germany. The Scotch labouring man gives yearly considerable contributions to spread civilisation and Christianity among people much better off, far more daintily fed, lodged, and clothed, in more physical comfort, and much farther removed from the wants and hardships of an uncivilized condition, than he is himself. This may be foolish, but it is noble and ennobling in the character of the lowest class of a people. The half-yearly shilling given in all sincerity of purpose by the cottar-tenant of a turf-built hovel on a barren Scotch muirland, to aid the missions for converting the South Sea Islanders or the Hindoos, is the noblest-paid money, as far as regards the giver, in the Queen's dominions. There is also in the mind of the common man of Scotland an imaginative thread interwoven somehow, and often very queerly, with his hard, dry, precise way of thinking and acting in ordinary affairs, which makes the whole labouring class in Scotland of higher intellectuality than the same class in other countries. We ofter hear, what country but Scotland ever produced a Burns among her peasantry? But the real question of the social economist is, what country but Scotland ever produced a peasantry for whom a Burns could write? Burns had a public of his own in his own station in life, who could feel and appreciate his poetry, long before he was known to the upper class of Scotch people, and in fact he was never known or appreciated by the upper class. In other countries it is the poetry of the higher educated class that works down to the people; as the poetry of Ariosto or Tasso, among the Italians; of the Niebelung, of the Saga, of the lays of the Troubadours, among the German, Scandinavian, and French people; or as ballads of Burger, Goëthe, and Schiller are said to be now working downwards in Germany, and becoming folkslieder,—the songs and poetry of the people. But where have been poets belonging to the labouring class called into song by their own class? This is more extraordinary than the genius of the individual himself, this genius of the class for whom he composed.

Is there any spark of this intellectual spirit among the common labouring people in the finer soils and climates of Europe? or does the little exertion of mind with which all physical wants may be supplied, and many physical enjoyments obtained in abundance, tend to form a heavy, material, unintellectual character, among the labouring class in Germany, which is confirmed by the state of pupillage and non-exertion of mind in which they are educated and kept by their governments; while the mind of the Scotch labouring man is stirred up and in perpetual exercise by the self-dependence, exertion, privation, forethought, moral restraint, and consideration required in his social position in which neither climate nor poor-rate, neither natural nor artificial facilities of living without thinking, allow him to sink into apathy or mental indolence?

But there are other educational influences, of far more important action in forming the intellectual character of a people than schools or theatres, which the German people want, and the British possess. The social economist, who reflects upon our crowded open courts of law in the ordinary course of their business at Westminster Hall, or at the Court of Session, at the assizes or circuits, or sheriff-courts, in short, wherever any kind of judicial business is going on, and upon the eagerness and attention with which the common people follow out the proceedings even in cases of no public interest, will consider the bar, with its public oral pleadings, examinations of witnesses, and reasonings on events, a most important instrument in our national education. Whoever attends to the ordinary run of conversation among our middle and lower classes will think it no exaggeration to say, that the bar is more influential than the pulpit, in forming the public mind, and in educating and exercising the mental powers of the people. It is a perpetual exercise in applying principle to actions, and actions to principle. This unceasing course of moral and intellectual education, enjoyed by our very lowest class in every locality, is wanting in Germany in general, owing to the different mode of judicial procedure in closed courts, by written pleadings, or private hearings of argument, and private examinations of facts and witnesses. Law and justice are, perhaps, as well administered in the one way as in the other; but the effects on the public mind, on the moral training of the character, and on the intellectuality and judgment of the common people, are very different. All schools for the people, all systems of national education, sink into insigni-

ficance, compared to the working of this vast open school for the public mind. We see its influence in the public press. Law cases are found to be the most interesting as well as the most instructive reading for the people, and our newspapers fill their columns with them. This taste has arisen also in France, since France has enjoyed open courts of law; and it is one of the most striking proofs of the social progress of the French people, that their theatres are deserted, and their courts of law crowded, and that their popular newspapers now report all interesting civil or criminal law cases.

Another great educational influence wanting in Germany, is the moving moral diorama of human affairs and interests presented to the public mind by our newspaper press. This literature of the common people is unknown in Germany. Foreign newspapers do not furnish food for the mind of the common man. The newspaper public abroad is of a higher, more intellectual, more educated cast, than ours; but therefore more circumscribed—a public of professional men, functionaries, scholars, men of acquirements far above those of the mass of the people. It is to them, not to the people, that the press, both the literary and the periodical, and the pulpit also, in Germany, address themselves, by far too exclusively; and the mass of the people, the labourers and peasantry, are lost sight of. If we come down in German literature to what is intelligible to this lowest class, we find a great vacuity not filled up by those daily or weekly accounts of the real affairs and local business passing around them, which our country newspapers furnish to the mind of the common man, and which exercise and educate his intellectual and moral powers.

The strictness—pharisaical strictness it may be—with which the repose of Sunday is observed in England, and particularly in Scotland—the complete abstinence not merely from work, but from amusement, is unquestionably a powerful educational influence in our social economy. Its religious value is not here considered. It may possibly produce as much hypocrisy as piety. But viewing it simply in its influence on the intellectual culture of a people, and comparing its effects with the intellectual culture produced by the round of amusement to which Sunday is devoted on the Continent, the social economist will not hesitate to say that our strict observance, where it is the voluntary action of the public mind, and not an observance enforced by kirk sessions and town bailies, is of a higher educational tendency,

and both indicates and produces a more intellectual character. The common man is thrown by it upon his own mental resources, reflections, and ideas, be they religious or not. He is not a mere recipient of fatigue for six days, and of amusement for one, without thought or mental exertion in the one state more than in the other—which is the Continental man's existence; but for one day he is in repose, and, without taking religion at all into consideration, is in a state of leisure, in which he is thrown back upon reflection, judgment, memory of what he knows or has heard, and upon considering and reasoning upon his own affairs, whether spiritual or temporal. It is a valuable pause from manual labour, which, if filled up by mere amusement, is lost as to intellectual culture.

The want of religious dissent, and consequently of religious discussion among the people, is also the want of a powerful means of educating, and sharpening by controversy, the intellectual faculties of the lower orders of Germany.

The want also of public or common business, small or great, to discuss, or influence by their opinions or votes, and in which they can act freely, and according to their own will and judgment, without superintendence and control, tells fearfully against the development of the human intellect in this lowest class in Germany. It is the same cause, only in less intensity of force —viz., the want of exercise and excitement of the mental powers —which reduces to idiotcy or imbecility the inmate of the silent penitentiary. Here, in Germany, the government, and the whole social economy of the country, remove systematically all exercise of mental powers from the people, and reduce the common working German peasantry, the lowest but greatest class in the community, to a lower state of intellectuality than we are acquainted with in Great Britain; where, even in the most remote and solitary situations, there is, owing to the nature of our social economy and institutions, a perpetual stream of exciting and educating influences and circumstances acting on the mind of the common man. Here, this lowest class of the population are, intellectually, but big children who know their letters. They are in a state of extreme inertness of mind. Take one of our uneducated people who can neither write nor read, converse with him, try his good sense, his judgment, his powers of comprehending, deciding, and acting within his sphere, and we find that the education of realities in our free social state, through which this ignorant man's mind has passed in the various exciting circum-

stances, which, in our social condition, daily exercise the faculties of every man in every station, has actually brought him to a higher intellectual and moral state,—has made him a more thinking, energetic, right-acting character, than the passive human beings of the same class in Germany, who have had the education of the schools, but without the practical exercise of the mental powers afterwards in their social relations.

The blessings of school education let no man undervalue but in our zeal for the education of the people let us not take the show for the substance, and imagine their education to consist in reading and writing, and not in the exercise and enjoyment of their own mental powers as free agents, acting in their own civil, political, moral, and religious duties as men and members of society. National schools, and theatres, and all that can be taught or represented by governments on the German system, are but poor substitutes for that education through the real business of life which can only be given to a people by free social institutions. The most educated countries in the present age give little encouragement to the philanthropist who expects, from a general diffusion of school-education, a higher moral character, and an efficient check upon crime, among a people. The most generally educated nation in Europe is unquestionably the Swedish. It is stated by Colonel Forsell, the Director of the Statistical Board of Sweden, in his valuable work, "Statistik öfver Sverige," that not so many as one in a thousand of the total population of Sweden, who are not incapable of instruction from mental or bodily infirmity, is unable to read and write, and the few who cannot are aged persons of a past generation, in which school-education was not so generally diffused and enforced. Religious instruction also is universal; because no person can be married, or perform any act as major in years, before taking the sacrament, after the rite of confirmation, and, on both occasions, going through preparatory instruction, and a suitable examination by the clergyman, who in this duty is strictly watched over by his superiors. Sweden being geographically and politically isolated, and detached from other countries—being almost entirely agricultural, with little commerce or manufacture, and with no great assemblages of its population in cities or large towns—and being provided also with a government which is a model of well-intended interference with all the interests of the people, ought to present to the world a picture of the happy results of an universal national education

and religious instruction, of a more perfect system of school and church education, than any country in Europe has been able to establish. It is not without dismay, therefore, that on turning to the criminal statistics of this generally educated people, we find that the amount of criminal offences, in proportion to the numbers of the population, exceed greatly those of England, Scotland, or Ireland, which are certainly not educated countries —that the numbers of illegitimate children, and of divorces from the marriage tie—both undeniable tests of the moral condition of a people—are vastly greater. This statistical fact was so unexpected, so contrary to the generally received opinion, that school education must of itself diminish the tendency to crime in a country, that it was supposed the number of commitments in a year for mere conventional police transgressions, involving no moral delinquency, had been numbered as crimes in the statement made by the author of these Notes in his tour in Sweden; and the minister of Sweden at the Court of St. James, the Count Biornstierna, published a pamphlet to refute his calumnies. But statistical facts are stubborn things. On examining the official lists of crimes tried before the courts in the course of a year, and published by authority of government, it was proved that the murders, rapes, robberies, and acts which are criminal in all countries, exceeded very far, in proportion to the population, the number of the same crimes in our unschooled dense population. The just inference is—not that school education is useless as a restraint upon crime—but that a people kept, as in Sweden, in a state of pupilage under educational, clerical, and civil functionaries, and privileged classes, without free action in their own social and moral duties, derive no benefit from the school acquirements of reading, writing, and repeating the catechism—that these, as stated above, are but poor substitutes for that education through the real business of life, which can only be given to a people by free social institutions.

CHAPTER IX.

NOTES ON THE RHINE.—SWITZERLAND.—SWISS CHARACTER.—CHURCH OF GENEVA —SWISS SCENERY.

THE Rhine is, no doubt, an historical river; but the political economist reads history in its stream differently from the scholar or the antiquarian. This river has been flowing these two thousand years through the centre of European civilisation—yet how little industry or traffic upon its waters! not one river barge in ten miles of river! Is not this the effect of faulty social economy, of bad government, of restricted freedom among the twenty or thirty millions of people dwelling in communication with this great water-way? Is it not a bitter historical satire on the feudal institutions which have so long reigned on either side of this river? In America, rivers not half a century old to any human knowledge, are teeming with floating craft, exchanging industry for industry between rising cities, and communities of free self-governing men. This ancient river Rhine flows stately and silently through vast populations of feudally governed countries, and like one of its own dignified old barons, caring little for industry, commerce, and civilisation, but sweeping in lonely grandeur between robber castles of former days, modern fortifications, decaying towns, military and custom-house sentinels and functionaries, and beneath vine-dotted hills, around which the labouring man toils, and climbs, and lives, as he did a thousand years ago, without improvement, or advance of any importance, in his social condition. Is this the Rhine, the ancient Rhine,—the Rhine that boasts of commerce, literature, science, law, government, religion, having all sprung up in modern times upon its banks—this river, with half a dozen steamers carrying idle lady and gentlemen passengers up and down to view the scenery, and a solitary barge here and there creeping along its sides? Truly the American rivers, under the democratical American governments and social system, have shot ahead, in half a century, of this European river under the aristocratical European governments and social system, although the European has had the start of the American streams by

fifteen hundred or two thousand years. When Prince Metternich sits in his window-seat in his castle of Johannisberg, reading in some book of travels about the Ohio, or Mississippi, or Hudson, all teeming with the activity and civilizing industry of free, unrestricted men, what may be his thoughts when he lifts his eyes from the book, and looks down upon the Rhine? It is here that the American traveller may be allowed to prose, at long and at large, upon his favourite topic—the superiority of American institutions and government. He may begin his glorifications at Cologne, and end them at Basle, without interruption.

The two small populations at the two extremities of the Rhine, the Swiss and the Dutch, far apart from, and unconnected with each other, and in all physical circumstances of country, soil, climate, means of subsistence, and objects of industry, as distinct and different as two groups of human beings well can be, are yet morally and nationally very like to each other. The same spirit in their social economy, and a similar struggle to attain and preserve independence and free political arrangements in their countries, have produced a striking similarity of character in the two populations. The Swiss are the Dutchmen of the mountains. They are the same cold, unimaginative, money-seeking, yet vigorous, determined, energetic people, as the Dutch of the mouths of the Rhine. In private household life the same order and cleanliness, attention to small things, plodding, persevering industry, and addiction to gain, predominate in the character of both, and as citizens, the same reverence for law, and common sense, the same zeal for public good, the same intense love of country, and, hidden under a phlegmatic exterior, the same capability of great energy, and sacrifices for it. The Swiss, being less wealthy, but far more generally above want and pauperism than the Dutch, retain, perhaps, more of the virtues connected with patriotism; and their two-and-twenty distinct governments, all more or less liberal in form, and the necessity of watchfulness and energy in their united general government, keep alive in every man a spirit of devotedness to his country, which the traveller looks for in vain among the peasantry of the monarchical states which allow no free action, or participation in public interests, to their subjects. The Swiss cantons bicker and quarrel among themselves as the American United States do; but, like the dogs in a snow-traîneau, they get on together not the less rapidly for their barking and

biting—and a common object in view silences all differences. Some political observers conceive that this republican bundle of two-and-twenty distinct states, different in laws, religion, and language, and placed between three monarchies, jealous of the prosperity, and especially of the example of such free institutions, has but a very precarious lease of existence in its present independent federal constitution. This is a mistaken view. The best and surest defence of a country consists in its power of aggression. Switzerland has eminently this aggressive power —could throw a ball of fire from the Alps into the plains of Italy, which would kindle a flame that Austria or Sardinia could not quench; and with the south of France in no cordial subjection to the reigning family, has a powerful moral aggressive force on that side also. Her population, too, is one of military habits, united in sentiment for the independence of the country, accustomed to the use of arms, and the country strong in its ruggedness for its local defence by the inhabitants. Switzerland is in reality a heavier power in the European balance than some of the little kingdoms, such as Wurtemburg, Hanover, Denmark, Sweden, which class themselves among the secondary powers, and look upon the Swiss confederated states as of very inferior importance to their own.

The Swiss appear to be a people very destitute of imagination, and its influences—remarkably blind to the glorious scenery in which they live. Rousseau, the only imaginative writer Switzerland has ever produced, observes, "that the people and their country do not seem made for each other." There is much truth in the observation. Men of all nations, excepting of the Swiss nation itself, and of almost every station in life, are met with in Switzerland wandering from scene to scene, pilgrims paying homage at every lake and mountain, to the magnificence of the scenery. The Swiss himself is apparently without any feeling of this kind. If it be possible to build out a fine view, or to put down a house exactly where one with any eye or feeling for the beauty of situation or scenery, would not place it, there the traveller may reckon upon finding the mansion and offices of the wealthy class of the Swiss, who could afford to indulge a taste, if they had it, for the fine scenery of their land. The Swiss speculators in hotels and lodging houses for strangers, who are a numerous and respectable class, are altogether puzzled at the unaccountable preferences the strangers give to cottages on the lake side, to single houses, or inns in the little villages,

instead of their superb châteaus in the middle of a market town, or built out from every prospect by magnificent office houses. The Swiss, in truth, are altogether utilitarian. Material interests are at the top, bottom, and middle of their minds. They have not a spark of fancy in their moral composition, no delusion of themselves, or others. Yet, without imagination, they have great energy, great patriotism, and a strong sense of public duty; and, with their military habits, these are more to be depended upon for the stubborn defence of their country and its institutions, than a temporary volatile enthusiasm. This peculiar spirit and character may be ascribed to the peculiar occupation of a great portion of the Swiss people. They have for ages been the hirelings of Europe, either in public or private service, as soldiers, or as domestic servants. Pay has for ages been the only influence in general and constant operation on the Swiss mind in every class of society, and has weakened the efficiency of any higher influences and feelings in affairs, than self-interest. *Point d'argent, point de Suisse*, has extended from their military to all their social relations. A great proportion of the young men of Switzerland have small farms, or houses, with portions of land, and rights to grazings in the Alp of their native parishes, to succeed to upon the death of their parents; but, until that event in their social position, they are supernumeraries at home, their labour not being necessary for cultivating the paternal acres, and their subsistence more, perhaps, than the land can afford. They have no colonies to migrate to, no labour to turn to, except labour of skill, which all cannot learn, or live by, and no considerable manufacturing employment, except in two or three cantons, to absorb their numbers, and they enlist, therefore, readily for a few years in Swiss regiments in foreign service. France, after the restoration of the Bourbons, had, if I mistake not, about 17,000 men of Swiss regiments; and the disgust of the French nation at the preference shown to these mercenaries was a main cause of the expulsion of Charles X. Naples has at present four regiments of these mercenaries, Rome as many; and it is reckoned that from 8,000 to 10,000 Swiss are in foreign service at present, embodied generally in Swiss regiments distinct from the native troops of the country. They are the condottieri of the middle ages, serving for their pay, and without any other principle, or attachment, real, or assumed, or any pretext of higher motive for their service. In other services, the rudest soldier, the most arrant scamp, the vagabond, the deserter from

NOTES OF A TRAVELLER,

ON THE

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STATE

OF

FRANCE, PRUSSIA, SWITZERLAND, ITALY,

AND OTHER PARTS OF EUROPE,

During the present Century.

BY SAMUEL LAING, ESQ.,

AUTHOR OF "A JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE IN NORWAY," AND OF "A TOUR IN SWEDEN."

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other regiments, lays the flattering unction to his soul, that destiny, folly, hard necessity, wildness of youth, love of distinction, of country, of honour, something, in short, connected with principle or fate, has led him into the military service. But these Swiss have no principle, real or imaginary, but pay. They engage generally for terms of four or six years, and receive a bounty of one Napoleon for each year they engage for. This bounty is not paid to them in full upon enlistment, but a portion of it is placed to their credit in their *livret*, or book, which every private has in foreign services, and is paid to them at the expiry of their engagements, to enable them to return home from the port of Genoa, to which those serving in Italy are sent free of expense, if they do not choose to re-engage for a new term of years. They receive much higher pay than the native troops. A subaltern in a Swiss regiment in the Neapolitan service told me his pay is better than that of a captain in a Neapolitan regiment. The men receive four gran and bread, and the *élite*, or old soldiers who have re-enlisted, five gran per day, and their ration of eight ounces of meat costs but three gran. They are consequently well off as soldiers, are always in good quarters, and under their own Swiss officers, and, both at Naples and Rome, are undoubtedly fine, well appointed troops. Scotland formerly furnished the same kind of condottieri to Holland, Sweden, and France, but the advance of industry and manufacture at home, the colonisation of America, and the demand of England for labour from the poorer country, extinguished this kind of military service; nor was it in Scotland so devoid of all connection with principle, so entirely mercenary, as the Swiss enlistments of the present day. The Scotch peasant enlisted under his clansman, or the son of his landlord, who from attachment to the Stuart cause, or difference of religion, or from national prejudice, preferred foreign service to the British, even with inferior pay. The recruiting also for foreign service was unacknowledged and private. But the Swiss government sanctions this demoralising system, allows the recruiting publicly, and with the same protection and regulation as for a national army; and sells, for the benefit of a few aristocratic families, principally of Bern, who officer these mercenaries, the military services of her young men to support the most arbitrary governments in Europe. The Protestant republic of Bern furnishes one regiment entirely for the service of the king of Naples, and even in the Pope's body guards there are Protestants from Bern and other Protestant

cantons. No government can set principle at defiance with impunity. These men return to their little spots of land, devoid of religious habits, or feelings, or attachment to any religious faith. This service keeps up through the whole population of Switzerland, principles and conduct adverse to religious character. The men who thus enlist to pass their youth in the most vicious and bigoted cities in Europe—Naples and Rome—are not the refuse of their country, but the sons of respectable peasants, who are to return to their little heritages and marry, and settle as fathers of families. If the Swiss character be mercenary, and devoid of feeling for higher influences or motives than pay, the taint comes from this source. Yet it is surprising, and suggestive of very important reflections, how an enlightened self-interest, keenly appreciating its own private advantage in the public good, keeps a people honest, sober, industrious, highly patriotic, and in the active and regular discharge of all private and public duties as men and citizens, without the higher influences of religion. But so it is. The Swiss people present to the political philosopher the unexpected and most remarkable social phenomenon of a people eminently moral in conduct, yet eminently irreligious; at the head of the moral state in Europe, not merely for absence of numerous or great crimes, or of disregard of right, but for ready obedience to law, for honesty, fidelity to their engagements, for fair dealing, sobriety, industry, orderly conduct, for good government, useful public institutions, general well-being, and comfort—yet at the bottom of the scale for religious feelings, observances, or knowledge, especially in the Protestant cantons, in which prosperity, well-being, and morality seem to be, as compared to the Catholic cantons, in an inverse ratio to the influence of religion on the people. How is this discordance between their religious and their moral and material state to be reconciled? It is so obvious, that every traveller in Switzerland is struck with the great contrast in the well-being and material condition of the Protestant and Catholic populations, and equally so with the difference in the influence of religion over each. This influence is at its minimum in Protestant, and at its maximum nearly in Catholic Switzerland; and the prosperity and social well-being of the people are exactly the reverse. How is this? Is it that the Swiss people, at home and abroad, see the utility of moral conduct, the utility of temperance, fidelity, self-restraint, honesty, obedience to law, patriotism, and defence of their country, and of their independent

political establishments, see the advantages, the pay, in short, of moral conduct and patriotism, in every shape and way, and are therefore eminently moral and patriotic, yet not from religious principles or influences, but altogether from an enlightened self-interest? It is a very remarkable social state, similar, perhaps, to that of the ancient Romans, in which morality and social virtue were also sustained without the aid of religious influences.

I happened to be at Geneva one Sunday morning as the bells were tolling to church. The very sounds which once called the powerful minds of a Calvin, a Knox, a Zwingli, to religious exercise and meditation, were now summoning the descendants of their contemporaries to the same house of prayer. There are few Scotchmen whose hearts would not respond to such a call. I hastened to the ancient cathedral, the church of Saint Peter, to see the pulpit from which Calvin had preached, to sit possibly in the very seat from which John Knox had listened, to hear the pure doctrines of Christianity from the preachers who now stand where once the great champions of the Reformation stood; to mark, too, the order and observances of the Calvinistic service here in its native church; to revive, too, in my mind, Scotland and the picturesque Sabbath days of Scotland in a foreign land. But where is the stream of citizens' families in the streets, so remarkable a feature in every Scotch town when the bells are tolling to church, family after family, all so decent and respectable in their Sunday clothes, the fathers and mothers leading the younger children, and all walking silently churchwards? and where the quiet, the repose, the stillness, of the Sabbath morning, so remarkable in every Scotch town and house? Geneva, the seat and centre of Calvinism, the fountain-head from which the pure and living waters of our Scottish Zion flow, the earthly source, the pattern, the Rome of our Presbyterian doctrine and practice, has fallen lower from her own original doctrine and practice than ever Rome fell. Rome has still superstition: Geneva has not even that semblance of religion. In the head church of the original seat of Calvinism, in a city of five-and-twenty thousand souls, at the only service on the Sabbath day—there being no evening service—I sat down in a congregation of about two hundred females, and three-and-twenty males, mostly elderly men of a former generation, with scarcely a youth, or boy, or working man among them. A meagre liturgy, or printed form of prayer, a sermon, which, as far as religion was concerned, might

have figured the evening before at a meeting of some geological society, as an "ingenious essay" on the Mosaic chronology, a couple of psalm tunes on the organ, and a waltz to go out with, were the church service. In the afternoon the only service in towns or in the country is reading a chapter of the Bible to the children, and hearing them gabble over the Catechism in a way which shows they have not a glimpse of the meaning. A pleasure tour in the steam-boats, which are regularly advertised for a Sunday promenade round the lake, a picknic dinner in the country, and overflowing congregations in the evening at the theatre, the equestrian circus, the concert saloons, ball rooms, and coffee houses, are all that distinguish Sunday from Monday in that city in which, three centuries before, Calvin moved the senate and the people to commit to the flames his own early friend, Servetus, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, and one of the first philosophers of that age, for presuming to differ in opinion and strength of argument from his own religious dogma. This is action and re-action in religious spirit, with a vengeance. In the village churches along the Protestant side of the Lake of Geneva—spots upon this earth specially intended, the traveller would say, to elevate the mind of man to his Creator by the glories of the surrounding scenery—the rattling of the billiard balls, the rumbling of the skittle trough, the shout, the laugh, the distant shots of the rifle-gun clubs, are heard above the psalm, the sermon, and the barren forms of state-prescribed prayer, during the one brief service on Sundays, delivered to very scanty congregations, in fact, to a few females and a dozen or two old men, in very populous parishes supplied with able and zealous ministers.

What may be the causes of this remarkable difference in the working of Calvinism in Switzerland and Scotland? The churches of Geneva and Scotland set out together on their Christian pilgrimage, in the days of Calvin and Knox, with the same profession of faith, the same doctrines, and the same forms in congregational worship. We, the vulgar of the kirk of Scotland, have at least always been taught to consider the church of Geneva as the mother-church of our Presbyterian faith and established church usages—the model by which both our doctrines and practices were framed and adjusted into their present shape. How widely the two have wandered from each other! The member of the Scotch kirk comes out of the church of Geneva inquiring if it be a Calvinistic or Lutheran service he has been attending—

the liturgy, or printed prescribed form of prayer, is there, the organ is there, and the sermon is a neat little moral essay that might do for either, or for any congregation. Scotland is at this day the most religious Protestant country in Europe; and in no country in Europe, Protestant or Catholic, is the church attendance worse, the regard for the ordinary observances of religious worship less, the religious indifference—not entitled to be called infidelity, not so respectable as infidelity, because not arising from any reasoning or thinking, wrong or right, about religion—greater than in Protestant Switzerland, in the district of our Calvinistic mother-church in and about Geneva. Whence is this remarkable difference? The starting point of the human mind was the same in both countries, at the same period, and under the same leaders—Calvin and Knox; and the present divergence of the human mind in its religious direction in Switzerland and Scotland is as striking as was the original coincidence.

The only obvious cause of this divergence is, that the state and church in Switzerland have from the first engrafted on Calvinism a bastard Lutheranism. It is characteristic of Calvinism, as received in Scotland, that it is the only branch of Christianity which flourishes independently of all church establishments, state assistance, or government arrangements, and requires no union of church and state. Spiritual, and unconnected with forms, it is injured by government interference and regulation. In Scotland itself religion is more flourishing in the Secession than in the Established Church, simply because the former is a voluntary, the latter a state church. The doctrine and church observances and education of the ministers are the same in both. The state has—and Calvin himself, in conjunction with the state, to prevent probably the excitement of the public mind by the extemporary prayers of fanatic preachers adapting their effusions to the passing feelings of their congregations, or to keep them exclusively Calvinists, and out of the hearing, as far as possible, of other impressions—prescribed a set form of printed prayer, a liturgy, in settling the church discipline and usages of the church of Geneva. The Scotch Calvinistic church, about sixty years after the Reformation, repudiated such interference, even from the church power, with individual freedom of thought and expression in prayer, as being contrary to the genuine spirit of Calvinism. The Scotch were more Calvinistic than Calvin himself. Time has proved that the Scotch kirk was right. In Switzerland, in attempting to guard the people by prescribed forms, against the diseases

of fanaticism and erroneous doctrine, the state and Calvinistic church have inoculated the people with the worse disease of indifference. It is the same experiment, for the same object and with the same results, which Prussia is trying in our times with the Protestant religion in Germany—to make it a subservient machine to state or church policy, to hold the minds of men enslaved to a civil or clerical system of government by religious ties.

The Lutheran and Church of England clergy, it may be said, are also confined to prescribed printed forms of prayer—true; but in the old Lutheran and Anglican churches these forms of ceremonial prayer—selected, translated and improved from the more ancient popish service—are, as in the Roman Catholic church, the sum and substance of the religious service. The sermon is only an adjunct of secondary importance in the service of the day. But in the Calvinistic church, as we conceive of it in Scotland, the substance of the service is in the sermon; and the best sermon loses half its effect, the best preacher half his power, if applicable, appropriate prayer, composed under the same impressions and feelings as the discourse, be superseded by set forms issued by the state, and which in Switzerland, not having the venerated antiquity, the admirable eloquence, and the application to every condition and every mind, of the fine ancient liturgy of the English church, nor being interwoven with the very existence of the church, as in the old Lutheranism, are listened to rather as proclamations to heaven of the church and state, than as prayers. The influence of the preacher is impaired. He stands in the pulpit in a false position as a free Calvinistic minister, with this dead weight of a leaden, meagre liturgy round his neck. He is not in the position of the Church of England or old Lutheran clergyman, who in the delivery of his prescribed liturgy is performing the most important part of his pastoral duty, and one consistent, not discordant, with the principle and spirit of his partly ceremonial church, in which the pastor's individual labour as a preacher is but secondary and subsidiary. This false position in their own pulpits necessarily lowers the moral and religious tone and energy of the clerical character in the Swiss clergy. Their liturgy, too, is in itself a meagre, unimpressive composition. They attempt to remedy their false position in the pulpit, by introducing occasional prayer in the middle, and as part of the sermon itself. This smuggled prayer is, in itself, of very impressive effect in pulpit oratory. It is rarely

used by our Scotch preachers; but here it is so common, that the peasants, who sit with their hats on during the sermon, are on the watch when the preacher is sliding, from addressing them, into prayer, to take off their hats until he returns to the thread of his discourse. This practice shows, I conceive, that the ministers feel themselves in a false and inconsistent position, in being only allowed to exercise half their duty—that of addressing their congregations—not the more important half—that of addressing their Creator in prayer—according to their own feelings, impressions, and powers. This position also gives the pastor too much the character with the people of a functionary of the state and church, who has his routine duty to do, and is paid for doing it like other functionaries. The routine duty of reading their short meagre liturgy is too brief to be a regular impressive church service, and yet it prevents any other mode of prayer.

The usual form of church duty in the Calvinistic parishes is this: the minister first reads a short prayer, the people standing, then gives out two verses of a psalm, which are well performed, there being an organ generally even in country churches, and all the psalm-books having the notes of the music printed with the psalms—and the common people understand music enough to use the notes. The text is read while the people are still standing, and they then sit down, and old men and peasants generally put on their hats while the minister delivers his sermon. The sermons are always read from papers; but some of the young clergy use the papers very little, and seem to have them merely as notes to refresh the memory. The printed forms of prayer are then read. They have at least the merit of being very short. None of the congregation have them in their hands. They are not used like the English prayer-book, by the congregation as well as by the minister, but only by the minister. A couple of verses of a psalm concludes the service, which, with a brisk tune on the organ—the fashionable opera air of the day—to go out of church with, occupies about three quarters of an hour. This is all the church service on Sundays. The afternoon service is a meeting of the children, who, after a prayer (a printed form) and a psalm without the organ, are examined in the Catechism. Baptisms, churchings, and such duties, are performed; but there is no sermon, and no congregation, either in town or country, in the afternoon, unless it be on some special occasion, such as a charity sermon.

This supine state of the Protestant church in Switzerland is owing greatly to the effects, indirect and direct, of the last war.

The indirect effects were those on the minds of the people bred up in the very centre of military movement, amidst excitement, bustle, and employments, which left little time or inclination for any religious education. The grown generation, and perhaps their progeny, show that little value had been put upon religious observances, habits, or instruction, in the days of their youth. The direct effects were, that, during the war, youth of talent and good education found in other professions a more congenial and better recompensed career than in the church. It was abandoned to those who had no ambition or talent for any other profession; and the standard both of learning and abilities in the clerical profession fell during the war below the standard of other professions. It is not to be denied that something of the same kind took place in Scotland, also, during the last war. The church did not obtain her fair proportion of the high-minded, high-gifted, and high-educated youth of the country, to fill her ranks; and she is now under the paroxysm of a strong reaction, is filled with ambition, and an active spirit too great for the narrow circle of her social influence, in a country of widely spread dissent, of habits of independent thinking, and of general education and intellectual culture not inferior to the standard of the clergy themselves. The agitation of late in the Scotch church is perhaps owing to this false position of the clergy with the people. The moral influence of great superiority of education, and of acquirements unattainable by the multitude, is wanting to the Scotch churchman, from the low standard of education which country presbyteries required in licensing preachers. As a sacred class of men, the Calvinist admits no superiority or influence to the licensed or ordained clerical preacher, more than to any lay or other preacher, either in the theory or practice of religion. It is to the gifts, talents, intellectual acquirements, not to the empty ordination ceremony, or clerical function, that social influence is given. But the established clergy in Scotland have no superiority in these over the clergy of the Secession, and neither have any over the youth of the middle classes, who study for the lower branches of the legal or medical professions, or for filling up their leisure hours in commercial, manufacturing, or other ordinary vocations of life. They are not fenced in, as in the English church, by expensive forms of education dividing the clerical class from other men, however well educated; nor by essential forms, as in the same ceremonial church of England, which none but the regularly ordained clergy-

man can legally, or in public opinion, perform in a religious sense; nor as in England, by the ignorance of the rest of society, from whose want of education the clergyman, however poorly educated himself, derives a certain social influence. They have in Scotland neither more knowledge, nor of a higher kind, than the people they have to instruct. They have no status in public opinion simply from being ordained, and unfortunately are struggling for influence and power as a clerical body co-ordinate with the civil power in the state, without laying the foundation —superiority of attainments and education—on which alone clerical power or social influence can rest in an educated country.

The young men of the Swiss church stand higher, compared to the people, in education, than those of the Scotch. They are elected by the people from a leet sent from government. The leet is made up by the consistory from the roll of licensed candidates, according to their standing or seniority. The candidates are first suffragans or assistants to parish ministers. They are all paid by the state, and are, undoubtedly, in the present generation, well educated, pious men. A reaction has taken place in the Swiss as in the Scotch church, and in both, the young clergy, not the old, lead the movement. But in Switzerland the movement seems confined to a very small circle, chiefly of females, around the pastor. The men appear not to enter into that circle. The taint in the flock is too deeply seated in the constitution of the Swiss church, and in the social state of the people, to be cured by their clergy in one generation.

The late insurrection in the canton of Zurich, in 1839, in which the peasantry, headed by some of the clergy, overturned, not without bloodshed, the local government, for having appointed Dr. Strauss to the chair of theology, may appear altogether at variance with this low estimate of the Swiss religious character. I was in Switzerland at the time; and from all I could learn, I considered it political not religious, and confirming the opinion of the low religious state of the country. Dr. David Frederic Strauss published, in 1835, his life of Jesus—*Das Leben Jesu**—avowedly with the object of overturning all

* Dr. Strauss's *Leben Jesu* was admitted into Prussia by the college of censorship, in consequence of a minute of Professor Neander, one of the censors, and one of the most eminent divines in Prussia, which stated, "that if the interpretation of the original history of Christianity laid down in Dr. Strauss's work were to be generally received, Christianity, as at present

belief in those events of, or connected with, our Saviour's history, which cannot be reconciled to, or explained by, the ordinary course of natural operation. He brings to this attack upon Christianity and the miracles, not the wit, ingenuity, or philosophy of a Voltaire, a Hume, or a Gibbon, but a mass of learning and biblical criticism, which, his admirers say, the church is unable to match. The weight of profound scholarship and philosophical criticism is, it seems, all on the side of infidelity; and the most able and learned of the German theologians—no superficial scholars in biblical lore—have, it appears, been worsted in the opinion of the learned by this Goliath. In the wantoness of power the authorities of Zurich chose to call Dr. Strauss to the vacant theological chair in their university—to appoint a learned man, who denies and controverts the very facts and foundations of all Christianity, to teach theology to those who are to instruct the people in the Christian faith. This attempt on the part of a government shows sufficiently the state of religion in the country. It was defeated, not from any new-born religious zeal of the people, but because the misgovernment and perversion of the powers entrusted by the community to their rulers, in this absurd appointment, were apparent; and the ministers found no want of followers, from the roused common sense of the people, even among those who perhaps had not crossed the church door for six months, to go to Zurich and displace magistrates who had abused their delegated powers so obviously. So little of religious zeal entered into this movement, that Dr. Strauss, as he had received the appointment, was allowed the retiring pension of a professor. The people appointed new members, without changing the forms of their government, retired to their mountains and valleys, and this revival was at an end. The present commotions in Argau, also, appear to be

understood, would certainly be at an end. The work, however, is written with such philosophical earnestness and science, that a prohibition of it by the state would be unsuitable, because it can only be overcome in the fields of learning and philosophic science; and it is, moreover, a work which can scarcely penetrate beyond the circle of the learned." Such a character of Dr. Strauss's work, from a scholar and divine of such eminence in biblical literature, places it beyond the contempt of ordinary theologians, who may affect to sneer at what they cannot even read. Why do not our young clergy withdraw from their political economy, and their non-intrusion, or intrusion politics, and refute the errors in philosophical criticism and in biblical learning of this antagonist, who, at the age of five-and-twenty, or thirty, has thrown down the gauntlet to the divines of Europe?

entirely a struggle between Protestants and Catholics for property and political power.

The snowy peak, the waterfall, the glacier, are but the wonders of Switzerland; her beauty is in her lakes—the blue eyes of this Alpine land. The most beautiful passage of scenery in Switzerland is, to my mind, the upper end of the Lake of Geneva, from Vevay, or from Lausanne to Villeneuf. Scenery more sublime may be found on the lakes of Lucerne, Zug, Brientz; but in the pure, unmixed sublime of natural scenery there is a gloom, essential perhaps to it, which cannot long be sustained without a weariness of mind. Here the gay expanse of water is enlivening; and the water here is in due proportion to the landward part of the scenery—not too little, nor too much, for the mountains. The climate, too, under the shelter of the high land, the vegetations of various climes upon the hill-side before the eye at once, have a charm for the mind. The margin of the lake is carved out, and built up into terrace above terrace of vineyards and Indian-corn plots; behind this narrow belt, grain crops, orchards, grass fields, and chestnut-trees have their zone; higher still upon the hill-side, pasture grass and forest-trees occupy the ground; above rises a dense mass of pine forest, broken by peaks of bare rocks shooting up, weather-worn and white, through this dark green mantle; and, last of all, the eternal snow piled high up against the deep blue sky—and all this glory of nature, this varied majesty of mountain-land, within one eye-glance! It is not surprising that this water of Geneva has seen upon its banks the most powerful minds of each succeeding generation. Calvin, Knox, Voltaire, Gibbon, Rousseau, Madame de Staël, Lord Byron, John Kemble, have, with all their essential diversities and degrees of intellectual powers, been united here in one common feeling of the magnificence of the scenery around it. This land of alp and lake is indeed a mountain-temple reared for the human mind on the dull unvaried plains of Europe. Men of every country resort to it from an irresistible impulse to feel intensely, at least once in their lives, the majesty of nature. The purest of intellectual enjoyments that the material world can give is being alone in the midst of this scenery.

CHAPTER X.

NOTES ON SWITZERLAND.—MONTREUX.—CHECKS ON OVER-POPULATION.—SWISS DAIRY.—AGRICULTURE.—SOCIAL CONDITION.

It is of the people of the countries I visit, not of the scenery,—of political and social economy, not of rocks and wilds, forests and floods, that I would speak, even in Switzerland. During two successive summers of late years, I fixed myself in the parish of Montreux, on the side of the Lake of Geneva, not far from the castle of Chilon. The locality is celebrated in every note book, delineated in every sketch-book of every sentimental tourist from the days of our grandmothers—for before Byron sung, and when Chilon was nothing more than it now is—an old French-like château, very suitable for its present use—a military magazine—the locality was the region of sentimentality, and hot-house feeling; for here Rousseau had placed his Julie, and St. Preux; and Clarens, and Meillarie, and all that is real or unreal in the Héloise—are here or hereabouts. But the locality has its own claims on the political economist as well as on the romantic tourist. We, the inhabitants of the parish of Montreux, are of unspeakable interest in the speculations of the enlightened prosers on political economy in the winter evening re-unions of Geneva and Lausanne. They demonstrate from our sage example, to a simpering circle of wives and daughters-in-law, the wisdom, duty, possibility, and utility, of keeping the numbers of a community, be it a nation, parish, or family, in due Malthusian ratio to the means of living. We of this parish have the honour of being cited in print to all Europe—besides the cities of Geneva and Lausanne—as an edifying example of *sagesse* on the great scale, as a perfect and remarkable instance of the application of moral restraint by a whole population upon their own over-multiplication. It appears from the register of this our parish of Montreux that the proportion of births to the population is 1 to 46, while in the rest of Switzerland it is reckoned 1 to 27 or 28 inhabitants. In England the proportion is 1 in 28; in France, 1 in 32 or 33; in Prussia, 1 in 25; in Bohemia, 1 in 24; in the old Venetian states, 1 in 22; in

Russia, 1 in 18 or 19. This remarkably small proportion of births to the population in our parish, is ascribed to the late period of life to which the peasants put off their marriages.

Sir Francis d'Ivernois published, in 1837, a pamphlet, "Enquête sur les Causes patentes ou occultes de la faible Proportion des Naissances à Montreux," in which, with some ill-supported conclusions, he makes many valuable observations. The strength of nations, their wealth as regards population, depends, he justly observes, not on the number of births, but of persons born who attain a useful age. The true and valuable increase of the population of a country depends, in short, upon the principle of making as many men as possible out of as few children as possible. If one-half of the children born, die before they attain a useful age, the rearing them has been a national loss, not a national gain. The population of effective people in Russia, with 1 birth to every 18 or 19 persons, may not be advancing so rapidly as that of France with 1 birth only to 33 persons. The observation is applicable to the supposed rapid increase of the population of the United States: more die before reaching the age of utility, and the rearing them is a loss, in reality, to the country, by the time, labour, and expense of their food and rearing, if they die before that age. In this parish, in which 1 birth is the average to 46 people, 1 death is the mortality to 75. In Switzerland, in general, 1 in 42 is reckoned the average mortality. In the canton Thurgovia, in eighteen years before 1824, the births were 1 in 27, and the deaths 1 in 31: so that in reality its population was increasing in a slower ratio than that of this parish with its births 1 in 46, and its deaths 1 in 75. There, one-half of the infants die before their fifth year. Here, nineteen out of twenty reach the first year of life, and very nearly four-fifths of those whom the present venerable minister has baptised, have lived to receive the sacrament from his hands. This diminished mortality Sir Francis ascribes to the postponement of the age of marriage, by which a healthier child is produced than in precocious marriages, and the child is better nursed. The postponement of the marriages to a later age, and also the fewer births in families, Sir Francis ascribes to a moral restraint acted upon by the population of this parish, both before marriage, and also after they have entered into the marriage state—a restraint, it seems, which their untutored good sense leads them to exert, and entirely conformable to the moral restraint inculcated by Malthus and Dr. Chalmers. This moral

restraint, as an effective check upon the tendency to over-multiplication, is, in reality, mere delusion. Moral restraint is an expression ill-defined. The propagation of the species by marriage is not immoral in itself. It may be imprudent for a man to marry, and have a family of children whom he cannot support; but it is confounding the landmarks of morality and prudence to say that marriage is moral in Canada, and immoral in Kent; or should be placed under moral restraint when a man's banker's book, or his employer's tally book is against him, but is a moral and laudable transaction if the balance be on the right side of the page. It is a delusion, or even worse in character than mere delusion, to conjure up false feelings of moral restraint, and erect a false moral standard in the human mind against acts, which, however imprudent, are not immoral, and in all times, and under all circumstances, unchangeably immoral. The immorality which it is proposed by these political economists to put under moral restraint, is the imprudence of marrying without means to maintain a family. This imprudence is founded upon the poverty of the parties. This poverty again is founded upon what? Upon their moral delinquency? no, but upon the state to which they were born; but this is no moral guilt—it is the effect of an evil construction of society, of a wrong distribution of property in it, by which a numerous class succeed to no property whatsoever. It is rather too much for our political economists to enlist moral restraint into the defence of the fictitious feudal construction of society. This parish of Montreux proves the very reverse of the conclusions of Sir Francis d'Ivernois, as to the use of this false moral restraint on improvident marriage. It shows that economical restraint is sufficient. Our parish is divided into three communes or administrations. In that in which I am lodged, Veytaux, there is not a single pauper, although there is an accumulated poor fund, and the village thinks itself sufficiently important to have its post-office, its fire engine, its watchman; and it has a landward population around. The reason is obvious without having recourse to any occult moral restraint, or any tradition of the evils of over-population from the fate of the ancient Helvetians, as Sir Francis absurdly supposes possible, whose emigration from over-population Julius Cæsar repressed with the sword. The parish is one of the best cultivated and most productive vineyards in Europe; and is divided in very small portions among a great body of small proprietors. What is too high up the hill for vines, is in orchard, hay, and pasture land. There

is no manufacture, and no chance work going on in the parish. These small proprietors, with their sons and daughters, work on their own land, know exactly what it produces, what it costs them to live, and whether the land can support two families or not. Their standard of living is high, as they are proprietors. They are well lodged, their houses well furnished, and they live well, although they are working men. I lived with one of them two summers successively. This class of the inhabitants would no more think of marrying, without means to live in a decent way, than any gentleman's sons or daughters in England; and indeed less, because there is no variety of means of living, as in England. It must be altogether out of the land. The class below them again, the mere labourers, or village tradesmen, are under a similar economical restraint, which it is an abuse of words and principles to call moral restraint. The quantity of work which each of the small proprietors must hire, is a known and filled up demand, not very variable. There is no corn farming, little or no horse work, and the number of labourers and tradesmen who can live by the work and custom of the other class, is as fixed and known as the means of living of the landowners themselves. There is no chance living—no room for an additional house even, for this class, because the land is too valuable, and too minutely divided, to be planted with a labourer's house, if his labour be not necessary. All that is wanted is supplied; and until a vacancy naturally opens, in which a labourer and his wife could find work and house room, he cannot marry. The economical restraint is thus quite as strong among the labourers, as among the class of proprietors. Their standard of living, also, is necessarily raised by living and working all day along with a higher class. They are clad as well, females and males, as the peasant proprietors. The costume of the canton is used by all. This very parish might be cited as an instance of the restraining powers of property, and of the habits, tastes, and standard of living, which attend a wide diffusion of property among a people, on their own over-multiplication. It is a proof that a division of property by a law of succession different in principle from the feudal, is the true check upon over population.

The speculations of political economists on this subject are, with us, confined to philosophical discussion; but on the Continent—in Switzerland and in Germany—they have been adopted as a basis of practical and altogether monstrous legislation. The

Thurgovians, taking the alarm at the facts, that in 18 years preceding 1824, the proportion of births among them had been 1 in 27 of the people, and of deaths 1 in 31, and that in another canton, that of Tecino, of 77,000 people, 2,932 were new-born, a vast proportion of whom died within the first year, proposed, —that is, the administrators of their poor rates proposed—to their legislative body, that the marriages of the poor who were unable to pay the quota to the poor tax should be prohibited. The first article of their proposed law prohibits the marriage of males who live by public charity; the second requires that, to obtain permission to marry, a certificate from the overseers of the poor must be produced, of the industry, and love of labour, and of the good conduct of the parties, and that, besides clothes, they art worth 700 francs French, or about £30 sterling. The third article of this extraordinary law in a free state, makes the marriage admissible without the proof of this 700 francs of value in moveable property, if the parties have furniture free of debt, and pay the poor tax of 1 per mille upon fixed property. Their legislative body had sense enough to reject this absurd proposition in 1833. The canton of St. Gall, however, actually has imposed a tax on marriages; and to make it popular, the amount goes to the poor fund. It fails, because according to Sir Francis d'Ivernois, it is too low, being 46 francs, about 71 francs French, or about £3 sterling; and because it is not graduated according to the ages of the parties, so as to prevent early marriages. But he thinks the principle excellent, as both Ricardo and Say, it seems, recommend the postponement of the marriageable age of the poor as an object of legislative enactment,—but not of the rich. Professor Weinhold, who proposed, in 1836, the infibulation of both sexes in Prussia, to prevent the increase of population, was a sage and wise legislator compared to these great political economists, for his operation would have been at least equal for all classes; and not a law affecting one class only. In Germany, commissaries have actually been appointed by some governments (Bavaria among others) who are invested with the power to refuse permission to marry to those whom they judge not able to support a family. They have a veto on marriages. All this monstrous, and demoralising, and tyrannical interference with the most sacred of those private rights for which man enters into social union with man, is the consequence of the absurd speculations of our English political economists and their foreign proselytes, who see clearly enough the evil, but who do not see, or are afraid to state,

that the remedy is not in a false code of morality, imposing moral restraint upon an act not immoral,—the marriage of the sexes; nor in a false code of laws for preventing the most powerful stimulus of nature; but in raising the civilisation, habits, mode of living, and prudence of the lower classes of the community by a wider diffusion of property among them, by an inoculation of the whole mass of society with the restraints which property carries with it upon imprudence and want of forethought in human action. The object of the laws which these political economists propose to themselves, is the postponement of marriages among the lowest class, to 26 or 30 years of age, when, it is assumed, healthier children will be procreated. Of 214 marriages in this parish, the average age of the males was found to be 30, and of the females $26\frac{9}{12}$ years. But it is by no means an ascertained fact in physics, that the progeny of parents advanced far beyond puberty, are more healthy than of parents who have just reached the age of puberty. Our breeders of cattle, sheep, horses, and dogs of valuable races, seem, on the contrary, to find improvement instead of deterioration from putting them together at earlier ages than formerly. Our nobility and gentry in England marry at much earlier ages than our lower classes; and they are certainly finer animals than these or almost any other of the human species. Other causes than the age of the parents form the constitution of animals; and to legislate upon a fact so imperfectly ascertained, is sufficiently absurd. The ages of 30 and 26 years are probably the average of the greater proportion of marriages among our own lower and middle classes at present in Britain. On the Continent, most of the civil codes fix the age of puberty for females at 16, and for males at 18 years, and probably marriages do take place at an earlier age abroad than with us. Sir Francis d'Ivernois states that at Prælognan, in the States of Sardinia, in which a premium and even a pension is paid to fathers of families who have above 12 children, upon the old exploded idea that the numbers of the population form the strength of the state, the young men had voluntarily entered into a secret association, binding themselves not to marry before 28 years of age, in consequence of the misery they saw produced in their valley by over-population. They show intelligence in this resolution; but no such association would be necessary in any community in which property was attainable by industry; for in few situations, can or does the labouring man, if he is in the way of earning any thing by his labour, think of marrying

at an earlier age than 28 or 30. It is only in Ireland, or in Sardinia, that the peasant sees no prospect of being better off at 28 or 30 years of age, than at 18; and therefore, very naturally, and very properly, marries at 18 or very early in life, so as to have a prospect of children grown up, before he is past the age to work for them; and who will be able to work for themselves, and perhaps for him when he is worn out. It is also by no means an ascertained fact, that a woman marrying at 26 and a man at 30 years of age, will not have as large a family, as marrying at 18 and 20 years of age; and it is clear that their children will not be so soon ready to help them. In Russia, the Emperor Nicholas fixed by an ukase, in 1830, the marriageable ages at 16 for females, and 18 for men; but this is stated by Sir Francis to arise from a circumstance which will scarcely be credited in civilised countries. The value of estates in Russia is reckoned according to the number of serfs; and the landed proprietors raise or force a population on their estates. And how? As the male does not arrive at puberty so early as the female in the human species, the infant husband's marriage bed is filled by his father, until he comes to puberty!—So says Sir Francis. But this barbarous practice for augmenting the number of serfs upon an estate is scarcely credible; and can scarcely be general, if it ever did exist. It is more reasonable to suppose, that marriages below the ages fixed by the ukase took place to avoid the military service, as fathers of families would of course not be so liable to conscription as unmarried men; and therefore the military age must be attained before a man can legally marry.

Political economists have unfortunately used in their speculations the ambiguous term of moral restraint. Malthus evidently used it originally, as contra-distinctive merely to the terms legal restraint or physical restraint; but not as restraint founded on moral principle, on the moral innate sense of right or wrong. Prudential restraint, or economical restraint, would, perhaps, have expressed his meaning less ambiguously. But his followers, and perhaps he himself in some passages, lost sight of the original meaning, and followed the ambiguity in the meaning of moral, so as to set up a new moral delinquency, repugnant to the innate sentiments of right and wrong in the human breast. Men heard with indignation, marriage, however imprudent and reckless, classed with fornication, or theft, as a moral delinquency; and the morality or immorality of human action, seriously stated

even by divines, by Malthus and Dr. Chalmers, to depend upon prudential considerations. The rough untutored common sense of all men of the lower class rejected this new code of morality; and the socialists, and radicals, with reason crow over the ecclesiastics in this argument. They ask for what purpose is this new-fashioned moral obligation in the most important of the actions of man—his marriage—to be inculcated? Is it to support any natural and necessary system of society? No. But to support an artificial feudal division of property, originating in the darkest and most barbarous ages, by which one son alone succeeds to the land, and the others, with their posterity, are thrown into that pauper class, who must live on the taxes or alms of the rest of the community; and must be debarred by legal enactment, or by a false tuition of their moral obligations, from the common right of all animals, that of propagation by the law of their species, by pairing or marriage. On the Continent, where speculative ideas are pushed to the extreme, the legitimate deduction from this new moral restraint has been carried to an extent which may alarm our pious moralists who first propounded it. The obligation of this moral restraint on the poor is carried into their marriage beds. There are some subjects which it is difficult to treat with decency of expression. The physician, and also the moralist, occasionally meet with cases in which a clear understanding can only be attained at the expense of modesty. What is meant by this kind of moral restraint in marriage? The prefet of the Department de la Somme, Monsieur Dunoyer, in transmitting to the communes of his department the money allotted for the maintenance of their paupers, publishes the following circular letter: "There are not two ways of escaping indigence. Families in indigence can only extricate themselves by activity, good sense, prudence, and economy—prudence especially, in the conjugal union, in *avoiding with an extreme care to render their marriage more fruitful than their industry.*" What is meant by this, "évitant avec un soin extrême de rendre leur mariage plus fécond que leur industrie?" Does it mean, this official manifesto of the magistrate, which, if not law, comes with the force of an injunction from the administrator of the law, does it mean to recommend the stifling the fruits of marriage after birth? or before birth? or does it mean some practice which it is against modesty to imagine? It is perhaps impossible to come nearer to the subject in decent language: but this "évitant de rendre leur mariage fécond," can only mean one or other of these three modes of avoid-

ing any fruits of marriage; or it must mean a separation of the parties from bed and board after cohabitation, or a rendering marriage *de facto* a temporary cohabitation, a marriage for a few months, renewed, or not, according to pecuniary, or convenient, or economical circumstances. The Count Villeneuf de Bargemont, a prefet, counsellor of state, and deputy, under Charles X., in his "Economie Politique Chrétienne, 3 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1834," takes this latter more innocent meaning, but one as injurious to social happiness as that which our political economists are supposed by the foreign political economists to have intended to recommend; and, after a profound research into the writings of the fathers of the church, finds that "the Christian religion places continence between husband and wife, when it is by mutual consent, among the highest of virtues." In that enlighteued age, the eleventh century, more than one instance occurred during the Heptarchy, of royal saints who attained canonisation by reaching the summit of this highest of virtues, by marrying, bedding, sleeping together, and remaining in virginity all their lives. It is somewhat curious in the nineteenth century to find a Catholic lawyer imagining that two Protestant divines, one of the English church and one of the Scotch, recommend this first of Christian virtues, and charitably coming to their assistance and proving by citations, and authorities from the fathers, that their doctrine is quite agreeable to Christianity. The principal difficulty to be got over in the theory of this doctrine is, in the simple question, Why marry at all, if people are not to live conformably to the married state, and to have families in it? or why not marry for a time—for a year or two, a month or two, a night or two? The principal difficulty in the practice of this continence in marriage among the poorer class, lies exactly in the circumstance which its foreign expounders consider as making it necessary—in their poverty. Where is the indigent family to find two rooms and two beds? or are they to sleep together, husband and wife, yet preserve continency? or are they to resort to any of the three other means hinted at, of "évitant de rendre leur mariage plus fécond que leur industrie?" Sir Francis d'Ivernois suspects that the peasantry of Montreux must practise this latter precious moral means of preventing their marriages being more fruitful than their industry, and puts the question to their venerable minister. The old gentleman, who is in his ninety-fifth year, evidently laughing at the gullibility of the political economists of Geneva, refers him to the other side of the lake, the Catholic side, for information, as on the Protestant side there is

no confessional through which the priest can become acquainted with such secret sins of his parishioners; and observes, that in his youth the political economists from Geneva used to deplore the unprolific constitutions of the Vandoise females; and now it is become a subject of their congratulation; but, in his opinion, hard work, in which, as proprietors working for themselves, they persevere, he thinks, even to an excess, exemption from misery, there being no destitution or extreme poverty, and exemption from great superfluity, or means of indulgence independent of work, have much to do with the matter; and have raised among his flock a spirit of prudence, inculcated from generation to generation, which postpones marriages until the parties can support a family. Sir Francis d'Ivernois considers it quite certain that in France, the practice of this highest of Christian virtues, "the évitant avec un soin extrême de rendre leur mariage plus fécond que leur industrie," is extensively diffused; because the proportion of births to the population has, since the Restoration, been diminishing regularly; and is now only 1 in 33, or even less. Is it not more reasonable to suppose, that the same causes which in this parish of Montreux have, in the enlightened opinion of the minister, reduced the proportions to 1 in 46, are in operation also on a great scale in France? that the possession of property has given to the whole population the habits of caution and prudence, and the use of gratifications of civilised life, which necessarily postpone marriages until a later period of life, and until a property is acquired adequate to the higher standard of living introduced by this universal diffusion of property? The additional, and hitherto unnoticed physical check, pointed out by the minister, upon over-population in a country of small landed proprietors, must also have had its effect in France, viz., the spirit of hard work and of unremitting occupation of mind and body about their little properties, which the pastor of Montreux thinks is carried even to excess, and which is intimately connected with two other physical checks—the earlier age at which the pastor thinks his female parishioners cease to be prolific, and the prolongation of the period of nursing. The fact that France is supporting one-third more inhabitants from nearly the same extent of arable land, than before the revolution, proves that this population must be much more laborious, and give more care and incessant work to their land. It is needless to add that idleness is a great originator of population, and is altogether propagational —and hard or incessant occupation of body and mind, a most

powerful physical check upon it, and is altogether anti-propagational.

The most profound observation ever made in the science of political economy is that of Solomon—"The destruction of the poor is their poverty." It is their poverty that causes their over-multiplication, and their over-multiplication their poverty. Cure their poverty, give them property, inoculate the whole mass of society with the tastes, habits, and feelings of prudence, which attend the possession of property, by abolishing the laws of succession which tend to concentrate all property in one upper class, and over-multiplication is cured. It is evidently curing itself rapidly in France, without the unnatural and immoral restraints recommended by political economists to be taught as injunctions of religion and morality by their clergy, or to be enforced as law by the local authorities.

Political economists do not enter into the position of the poor man under our feudal construction of society. They are ignorant of his calculations. They pour out the vials of their wrath against him for marrying without having the means of supporting a family. But in his position it is the wisest and most moral step he can take. He marries early because he has a more reasonable chance of raising his children to an age to provide for themselves, if he marries early, than if he postpones his marrying until an age when he must be failing in capability of work before they can work for themselves. If his family have no property, or reasonable prospect of property but from their work, the sooner he can produce two or three working hands to help in their common subsistence the better. It is wisdom in his position to marry at twenty years of age, and folly to postpone it to thirty, or thirty-five, or forty, because he will be getting past hard work, especially piece-work, in the latter case, before his children can earn wages for full work as grown up men and women. To tell him to wait until his savings enable him to keep his children, is but a mockery. Wages of labour in no trade or position of life in which the mass of labourers exist, admit of any such saving, without the giving up of all habits of civilisation. It is out of the wages of labour, day by day, that the poor must subsist their families, not by any possible accumulation of savings out of their wages. If they postponed their marriages for such an accumulation, according to the recommendation of our political economists, they would find themselves, between fifty and sixty years of age,

when a hard-worked man is sensibly failing, burdened with children to support, of an age too young to support themselves. The poor act much more wisely in having children grown up, and the expense of their infancy and rearing over, before they themselves begin to fail. It is here we see the truth of Solomon's observation, that "the destruction of the poor is their poverty." Give them property, as a class, by abrogating the feudal law of succession, and all other impediments to the widest diffusion of property through society, and the moral and economical restraints arising from property and prudential consideration, would postpone their marriage age until the period most suitable for their interests. The very same prudential consideration hastens their marriage age now, in their hopeless, endless state of destitution of property. The state of France furnishes a remarkable illustration of this principle. In France property is widely diffused, population is increasing, yet the number of births is decreasing. Of those born many more live to be added to the population, although the actual births are in proportion almost one-third fewer in numbers, than in countries in which property is not diffused as in France. Can there be a more satisfactory proof of the right working of the great social experiment now in progress in France? The number of children reared in proportion to those born is the surest test of the well-being and good condition with respect to food, lodging, and domestic habits of those who rear them—of the people.

A political economy opposed to the moral and natural economy of society is unsound. It rests upon an arbitrary expediency only. The speculations upon artificial checks to the increase of population by legislative, educational, or conventional restraints, inconsistent with the natural rights, moral duties, and social relations of the individuals composing the poorer classes, are altogether false in principle. The administration of the poor law by the commissioners in England—the separation of husband and wife—of parents and children—the confinement in workhouses of all receiving relief—cannot be justified on any principle but expediency; and on that, anything—the veto on marriages among the poor—the enormities alluded to by Sir Francis d'Ivernois—anything and everything in short may be justified. The destitute either have a right or have not a right to relief. If they have not, it is a robbery to take the sum from the richer class to relieve them. If they have, from the nature and constitution of property and society, a right inherent in them

as animals to such a portion of the fruits of God's earth as will maintain them, it is unjust and tyrannical to withhold that portion except on conditions inconsistent with their free agency and enjoyment of life as moral intelligent beings. The expediency-principle of making the poor rate relief as sour as possible to the receiver, in order to lessen the pecuniary burden on the giver, would justify the exterminating, or torturing, or mutilating the pauper class. This is from first to last a false legislation. The expediency itself arises only from false legislation—from throwing the whole burden of supporting the poor upon one kind of property only, and one class of proprietors; and then attempting, by such an administration of the poor rates, to alleviate the burden which this exemption of all other kinds of property necessarily accumulates to a ruinous extent upon that one kind—the land.

In Switzerland each parish has its Alp, that is, its common pasture for the cows of the parish—which is the proper meaning of the word Alp—and each inhabitant is entitled to a cow's grazing, or half a cow's grazing, from June to October, on this common pasture. These grazing rights are highly prized, for the Swiss peasant is extravagantly fond of his cow. To pass a winter without a cow to care for, would be a heavy life to him. Few, however, have cows in sufficient number to repay the labour of attending them at the summer grazing in the Alps. The properties are too small, in general, to keep more than five or six cows all winter: and few can keep more than half that number. Yet these small proprietors contrive to send cheeses to market as large as our Cheshire dairy-farmers with their dairy stocks of forty or fifty cows, and farms rented at £200 or £300 a year. This is a signal instance of the absurdity of the dogma in agriculture, so implicitly received by all our political economists from books on farming—that small farms are incompatible with good husbandry, or farming operations on a great scale. Gruyere and Parmesan cheeses are quite as large as Cheshire cheeses; and, as the price shows, are incomparably better in quality. They are made by small farmers, each of whom has not, on an average, the milk of half a dozen cows to make cheese of. Each parish in Switzerland hires a man, generally from the district of Gruyere, in the canton of Freyberg, to take care of the herd, and make the cheese; and if the man comes from Gruyere, all that he makes is called Gruyere cheese, although made far enough from Gruyere. One cheeseman, one

pressman or assistant, and one cowherd, are considered necessary for every forty cows. The owners of the cows get credit, each of them, in a book daily, for the quantity of milk given by each cow. The cheeseman and his assistants milk the cows, put the milk all together, and make cheese of it, and at the end of the season each owner receives the weight of cheese proportionable to the quantity of milk his cows have delivered. By this co-operative plan, instead of the small-sized, unmarketable cheese only, which each could produce out of his three or four cows' milk, he has the same weight in large marketable cheese, superior in quality, because made by people who attend to no other business. The cheeseman and his assistants are paid so much per head of the cows, in money or in cheese, or, sometimes, they hire the cows, and pay the owners in money or cheese. When we find this, which of all operations in husbandry seems most to require one large stock, and one large capital applied to it, so easily accomplished by the well-understood co-operation of small farmers, it is idle to argue that draining, or irrigation, or liming, or fencing, or manuring, or any operation whatsoever in farming, to which large capital is required, cannot be accomplished also by small farmers—not small tenant-farmers, but small proprietor-farmers, like the Swiss. In October the cows are brought home, and the home grass-lands having been mown for hay twice during the summer, the winter food is provided, and a very small area of land keeps a cow, when the home grass has not been burdened with the summer grazing. The pasture in these Alps, or summer grazings, is abundant and rich. In some of the upper valleys inhabited winter as well as summer, but in which the corn-crops are secondary, and dairy produce the main object—as, for instance, Grindewald—a man with a house suitably situated is permanently established for receiving the milk of the neighbourhood. Each family takes care of and milks its own cow or cows, keeps the milk wanted for family use, and sends the rest of it daily to the cheeseman, who gives each family credit for the quantity of milk delivered each day; and the cheese made during the season is divided, or very usually the cheese is marketed, and the money divided: and in this way cheeses of great weight are manufactured, although no one cow owner has milk enough to make one of marketable size. I went one warm forenoon, while ascending the Rhigi, into one of these dairy houses. From the want of dairy-maids or females about the place, and the appearance of the cow-man and his boys, I

thought it prudent to sit down on the bench outside of the smoky dwelling room, and to ask for a bowl of milk there. It was brought me in a remarkably clean wooden bowl, and I had some curiosity, when, clean or dirty, my milk was swallowed, to see where it came from. The man took me to a separate wooden building; and instead of the disgusting dirt and sluttishness I had expected, I found the most unpretending cleanliness in this rough milk room—nothing was in it but the wooden vessels belonging to the dairy; but these were of unexceptionable nicety; and all those holding the milk were standing in a broad rill of water led from the neighbouring burn, and rippling through the centre of the room, and prevented by a little side sluice from running too full, and mingling with the milk. This burn running through gave a freshness and cleanliness to every article; although the whole was of rude construction, and evidently for use, not show. The cows were stabled, I found, at some distance from the milkhouse, that the effluvia of their breath and dung might not taint the milk. Cheese is almost the only agricultural product of Switzerland that is exported; and it is manufactured by these small farmers certainly as well, with as much intelligence, cleanliness, and advantage, as by large farmers. Grain the country must import; and the supply is principally from the east side of the lake of Constance. Wine is not produced in greater quantity than the country consumes. The Swiss cows are exported even to Russia, and to all parts of France and Germany; but as Swiss pasturage, and Swiss care, and love for the cow are not exportable, these agricultural improvements generally fail. The Swiss cows are very handsome animals, and of great value. A fine cow will sell for £20 sterling in Switzerland. Such a cow in England would bring the same price in any good market. In all this branch of husbandry, the small farming system is not in any respect behind the large farming system. In corn husbandry, from the nature of the country, no very extensive tracts dedicated entirely to raising corn-crops are met with, except in the cantons of Bern, Thurgovia, and a few other localities. To judge of the agriculture of a country by the appearance of the crops on the ground, of the working stock, utensils, drainage, fencing, and attention to manure, and from the state of all farm buildings and accommodations, Switzerland stands very high even as a corn country well farmed.

The peculiar feature in the condition of the Swiss population

—the great charm of Switzerland, next to its natural scenery—is the air of well-being, the neatness, the sense of property imprinted on the people, their dwellings, their plots of land. They have a kind of Robinson Crusoe industry about their houses and little properties; they are perpetually building, repairing, altering, or improving, something about their tenements. The spirit of the proprietor is not to be mistaken in all that one sees in Switzerland. Some cottages, for instance, are adorned with long texts from Scripture painted on or burnt into the wood in front over the door; others, especially in the Simmenthal and the Hasletnal, with the pedigree of the builder and owner. These show, sometimes, that the property has been held for 200 years by the same family. The modern taste of the proprietor shows itself in new windows, or additions to the old original picturesque dwelling, which, with its immense projecting roof, sheltering or shading all these successive little additions, looks like a hen sitting with a brood of chickens under her wings. The little spots of land, each close no bigger than a garden, show the same daily care in the fencing, digging, weeding, and watering. The vineyard husbandry is altogether a garden cultivation, in which manual labour —unassisted by animal power, scarcely even by the simplest mechanical contrivance, such as wheel-barrows, harrows, or other assisting implements to the basket, hoe, and spade—does every operation; and this gives the character to all their husbandry; hand-labour is applied to all crops, such as potatoes, Indian corn, and even common grain crops, more extensively, both in digging and cleaning the land, than with us. It is not uncommon to find agricultural villages without a horse; and all cultivation done by hand, especially where the main article of husbandry is either dairy produce or that of the vineyard, to either of which horse work is unnecessary. I confess I do not like a vine-farm. The vineyard is but a garden. The hand-labour is incessant in all the different operations, and yet it is not, like the hand-labour in a garden, applied to but a few fruit trees, or plants, or beds, with which you form a kind of acquaintance that ripens into friendship in the course of years. The vines are too many, and each too insignificant by itself for that kind of pleasure, and the land under vines being always under vines, you don't get intimate either with the acres or beds, as in corn and grass husbandry, nor with the individual plants, as in gardening. Then the eye has nothing agreeable to dwell upon in the dotty effect of a field of vines; and the ear misses the rural music of a farm—the crowing of the cock—

the lowing of the cattle—the sound of the flail. In sheep-farming, cattle-farming, horse-breeding, corn-farming, orchard, or kitchen-gardening, or flower-gardening, a man may be an amateur, may have a singular delight, a very craze—but I could never hear of any such feeling about vine-farming. It is in spite of poetry a dull manufacture.

Two circumstances attending the great diffusion of landed property among the people strike the traveller in Switzerland: one is the great perfection it gives to their social arrangements. I lodged in a little hamlet (Veytaux), so inconsiderable that it could not support a shop, nor a shoemaker, tailor, or tradesman living by his trade. I found, however, that there was a regular post-office in the place, although it was not a thoroughfare to other places; a regular watchman by night, calling the hours as in great towns; two public fountains, with regulations for keeping them clean painted on boards at the spouts; a kind of market-place, in which all the orders or edicts of the canton, or of the federal government were posted up, under a wire covering, for the public information; and a fire-engine in good order, and which occasionally was brought out, and the people exercised in its use. Towns of twenty or thirty times the population in Scotland and England have no such social arrangements. I am speaking of a hamlet of thirty or at the outside forty houses. The other circumstance which strikes the traveller is the condition and appearance of the female sex, as it is affected by the distribution of land among the labouring class. None of the women are exempt from field-work, not even in the families of very substantial peasant proprietors, whose houses are furnished as well as any country manse with us. All work as regularly as the poorest male individual. The land, however, being their own, they have a choice of work, and the hard work is generally done by the men. The felling and bringing home wood for fuel, the mowing grass generally, but not always, the carrying out manure on their backs, the handling horses and cows, digging, and such heavy labour, is man's work; the binding the vine to the pole with a straw, which is done three times in the course of its growth, the making the hay, the pruning the vine, twitching off the superfluous leaves and tendrils,—these lighter yet necessary jobs to be done about vineyards or orchards, form the women's work. But females, both in France and Switzerland, appear to have a far more important rôle in the family, among the lower and middle classes, than with us. The female, although not exempt from out-door work, and

even hard work, undertakes the thinking and managing department in the family affairs, and the husband is but the executive officer. The female is, in fact, very remarkably superior in manners, habits, tact, and intelligence, to the husband, in almost every family of the middle or lower classes in Switzerland. One is surprised to see the wife of such good, even genteel manners, and sound sense, and altogether such a superior person to her station; and the husband very often a mere lout. The hen is the better bird all over Switzerland. This is, perhaps, an effect of the military or servile employments of a great proportion of the male population during youth, and of the mercenary spirit too prevalent in Switzerland. In France, also, the female takes her full share of business with the male part of the family, in keeping accounts and books, and selling goods, and in both countries occupies a higher and more rational social position certainly than with us. This seems to be the effect of the distribution of property, by which the female has her share and interest as well as the male, and grows up with the same personal interest and sense of property in all around her.

CHAPTER XI.

LYONS.—ON ITS MANUFACTURING SYSTEM.—NOTES ON AVIGNON.—FRENCH BARRACKS.—COOKERY—ITS EFFECTS ON NATIONAL WEALTH.

Lyons, with its narrow dark streets and lofty old houses on each side, resembles some of the old parts of the old town of Edinburgh. It is built at the confluence of the Rhone and Saone, upon a flat tongue of land, so narrow that the stranger is surprised, on taking the breadth of the city, to come so soon from the one river quay to the other; and on taking its length in his walk, he can scarcely believe that this is the second city in France, a city nearly as populous as Edinburgh. In 1831, it contained 165,459 inhabitants; and Edinburgh in 1831, reckoned 178,371. But on looking more carefully, the traveller perceives that the secondary streets are remarkably narrow, the houses very lofty and densely inhabited, each a little town of people within itself, and, as in Edinburgh, a great proportion of the inhabitants lodge in the air, not on the surface of the earth.

In this chief seat of the silk manufacture in France, and, at no distant period, in Europe, the manufacturing arrangements are apparently ill adapted to the improvement, extension, or even the future existence of its trade, against the competition of England, Prussia, and Switzerland. The old leaven of the corporation system sticks to Lyons; and the distress in which her operatives are so frequently plunged, that their whole existence, it may be said, is distress, is very much the consequence of a faulty arrangement of business, not suitable to the times. The master-manufacturer has no factory and workmen constantly in his employ. He merely buys the raw material, and gives it out to be sorted, spun, dyed, and put in a state for the silk weaver. In these operations, which are not conducted in his own premises or factory, he has but very imperfect checks upon embezzlement, and none upon waste. The division of labour in a manufacture is not always economical. It is a very nice point, in practice, to judge of its applicability, and to adjust it to advantage. Cheap production may arise from a division of labour under one head or master-manufacturer; but faulty processes, loss of time, and a waste of labour and means, may arise from

a division among different sub-capitals, and independent operators, of such labour or operations as are essential for producing a good and cheap product. It requires great judgment to determine—happily, self-interest is the surest guide—what may be left to others to prepare, and what the manufacturer must, from first to last, carry on himself. In Lyons, in the silk trade, the laying or preparing the pattern for the loom is the work of independent workmen; although the patterns are produced by a draughtsman who is generally a partner with the master-manufacturer. The weavers again are independent workmen, living and working each in his own shop, with two or three looms for different kinds of fabric, and with journeymen to work them. He lodges and boards the journeymen, finds the looms and the work, and gets one-half or one-third of their earnings, according to the regulations, or customs, of the craft, as established for the different stuffs or fabrics. This master-weaver is paid for the work by the master-manufacturer, so much per ell. This is the state of infancy in manufacturing operations with us—a happy infancy, but still a state of infancy in which capital has not been accumulated, or machinery invented, to enable the master-manufacturer to concentrate his operations.

It is evident that the eye and superintendence of the master-manufacturer cannot be given to quality and economy, where every operation essential to the manufacture is not under one roof or one guidance, with partners and managers attending it, and with workmen responsible directly to one head, and whose hands are always kept employed in the same kinds of work. When the web is done it is too late to check faulty workmanship, or save the character of the goods, by putting better workmen or better material to it. As long as the Continent had only Lyons, and England only her French colony in Spitalfields, to look to for the greater part of their silk fabrics, the system went on; but when Manchester, Paisley, and, on the Continent, Zurich, and other places, took up the silk trade upon different manufacturing principles, the superior economy and quality of their fabrics ruined these old seats of the silk manufacture. England, about twelve years ago, was reckoned to have about 10,000 looms engaged in the silk manufacture, and is now reckoned to have about 80,000. Lyons and its neighbourhood has now but 31,000; and Zurich and its neighbourhood is reckoned to have above 20,000. In all that regards the preparation of the silk, and the texture and quality of the stuffs, the English excel the

French manufacturers, and in economy so decidedly that the ell of silk stuff which cannot be produced at Lyons under the cost for labour of 120 to 125 centimes, cost in labour only 40 centimes in England. A certain number of privileged workmen are alone entitled to set up as masters in the weaving and other branches of the silk manufacture at Lyons, and are entitled to exclude others from the exercise of their trade. They must have served as apprentices and as journeymen for certain periods, and cannot set up for themselves without large fees of entry for the freedom of the craft, be the demand for looms ever so great. The French Revolution gave political liberty only to the people—the forms of constitutional government—but gave them no civil liberty, nor to this day is civil liberty, or the perfect freedom of every citizen to act for himself without interference, understood or thought of by the French people, any more than before the Revolution. The municipal taxes on the transit of goods through towns, the leave and licence necessary to carry industry from one locality to another, and the restraints upon its free exercise, as here in silk weaving, are in full vigour. The only argument in favour of this system of corporate privileges is, that it allows the small capitalist as well as the large to live, and this is not an argument to be despised in social economy. The weaver with his two or three looms has an independent existence; and, however inefficient as a producer of silk fabrics at the cheapest rate compared to the master-manufacturer who has a couple of hundred looms, perhaps, at work under his eye, with all that precedes and follows the weaving going on simultaneously, he is one of a body far more valuable in social relation than the two or three great capitalists who supersede this body of middle class manufacturers. But this is, unhappily, the natural and unavoidable progress of manufacturing industry. Large capital, when it comes into competition with small capital in the world's wide market, inevitably drives the small out of the field. An aristocracy of large capitalists obtains the possession, the property it may be called, of supplying all human wants, and holds it by the best of all tenures—that of being able to supply mankind cheapest. It is a manufacturing and physical good, but a social and moral evil. The actual operative in Great Britain has no prospect before him. He may save a few hundred pounds by unceasing industry and sobriety; but why should he save it? This little saved capital—call it thousands instead of hundreds of pounds sterling

—can do nothing in the present state of our trade and manufactures, in competition with the vast capitals, accumulated by long inheritance, pre-occupying every branch of industry and manufacture, and producing far cheaper than he can do with his trifling means. Land, by the effect of the privileges accorded to that kind of property, and of the expense of title deeds, is out of his reach as much as trade and manufacture; there being no small estates in Britain, generally speaking, which a labouring or middle class man could purchase and sit down upon with his family to live as a working yeoman, or peasant proprietor; and thus small capitals when they are accumulated are forced into trade and manufacture, although every branch is over-supplied with the means of producing. What can a man turn to who has a little capital of three or four thousand pounds? What can he enter into with any reasonable prospect of not losing his little capital in his most honest and prudent efforts? And what can the working man do, but spend his earnings, drink, and fall into a reckless improvident way of living, when he sees clearly that every avenue to an independent condition is, by the power of great capital, shut against him? A vassalage in manufacture and trade is succeeding the vassalage in land, and the serf of the loom is in a lower and more helpless condition than the serf of the glebe, because his condition appears to be not merely the effect of an artificial and faulty social economy, like the feudal, which may be remedied, but to be the unavoidable effect of natural causes. Mankind will naturally prefer the best and cheapest goods. Great capitals will naturally produce better and cheaper, than small capitals applied to the same objects. Corporations, trade restrictions, privileges either of masters or workmen, and all such local or partial legislation, add to, instead of curing the evil, for they can only reach the producers, not the consumers; and few, indeed, are the branches of industry, in which the producers have a command of the market. The feudalisation going on in our manufacturing social economy is very conspicuous in some of the great cotton factories. The master-manufacturer in some districts, who employs eight hundred or a thousand hands, deals in reality only with fifty or sixty sub-vassals or operative cotton spinners, as they are technically called, who undertake the working of so many looms, or spinning jennies. They hire and pay the men, women, and children, who are the real operatives, grinding their wages down to the lowest rate, and getting the highest they can out

of the master manufacturer. A strike is often the operation of these middle men, and productive of little benefit to, and even against the will of the actual workmen. They are, in the little imperium of the factory, the equivalent to the feudal barons.

In a few branches of the silk trade, in the elegance of pattern, and in some few dyes, the Lyons manufacturer still has a pre-eminence. The draughtsman and dyer are educated in the branches of science and fine art connected with their trade. Science and good taste in colours and patterns are more diffused in France by education, social habits, and cultivation even among the working class, than among our middle class. In every departmental town, a public school of design for the working class, and exhibitions of models, and objects connected with the cultivation of taste, are established. Elegance, and variety of fashion in patterns, can, it is probable, never be overtaken by machinery, or by the class of workmen who are but parts in a machine, so well as by the manual labour of independent workmen of taste and skill, under the French system. In the figured stuffs in which hand-labour is not and cannot be superseded by machinery on account of the changeable and short-lived fashion, the French workmen excel ours, and can work 25 per cent. cheaper. Fashion is too evanescent and variable to be followed up closely by machinery; and formerly our corn laws, and other taxes affecting labour, turned the balance against us, where hand-labour was in competition with hand-labour. It is, however, a remarkable sign of the times, that what is called fashion in colours, patterns, and materials of dress, appears to be growing less changeable and fantastic as the world grows older. As the body of the middle and lower classes, and not merely the court and highest class, become consumers, and regulate the market, good taste, or taste with reference to the useful in its requirements, becomes more prevalent, and its application more steady. One no where sees now, as fifty years ago, except, it may be, in remote little German towns, skyblue, or pink, or green, or pompadour coats, or people walking the streets in silk stockings, silk breeches, and powdered hair. The taste of the middle class, the mass of the consumers, has invaded the empire of fashion, and, in fact, sets the fashion to the higher classes; and the nobleman now would be laughed at, who appeared in any other shape, colour, or material of clothing, than the well-dressed tradesman. Exclusiveness, the soul of fashion, cannot exist in the present cheap,

extensive production of clothing material. This greater steadiness of fashion with the great mass of the consumers of cloth, cotton, and silk, and the longer endurance, and greater extension of the demand for any fashion that once gets established, enable machinery and large capital to work even upon objects which would have been left formerly to hand-work; and the field for hand-loom weavers is narrowed to the production of a few fancy articles. The hand-loom weavers in the silk trade in Lyons appear to have been for the last hundred years in no superior or more prosperous condition than those in Spitalfields.

As far back as 1740, it appears by a petition to the local authorities at Lyons for raising the rates of weaving the ell of silk stuff, that the earnings of a master-weaver with three looms in full work all the year, fell short of the necessary expense of a family living in the poorest way. The statement of the hand-loom weavers reckons 296 working days (52 Sundays, 17 holidays, and 6 days of military town guard duty, being deducted), and reckons 800 ells a year the production of each loom. Bread is taken at 2 sous per lb., and 10 lbs. as the daily allowance of a man, his wife, two children, and a journeyman. Meat is taken at 6 sous, and 2½ lbs. daily for such a family, and wine 1 pint, at 6 sous; and to meet this condition of subsistence with such a family in full work, the earnings are shown to be deficient. How then has this class of operatives existed through a century? By going down lower in the scale of subsistence, in the enjoyment of the comforts and necessaries of life. It is impossible to foresee how low the condition of many masses of population may be reduced in the working manufacturing classes. It has no minimum of depression, as there appears to be in the condition of the working agricultural class. The reproduction of the husbandman's food and of seed for the following crop, is the point below which the condition of the labouring husbandman cannot permanently fall. Population and cultivation stop at that point; and overproduction is a good, not an evil, where the producers are themselves the principal consumers. In manufacturing industry, there is no such defined terminus. Labour and production go on, whether food and cost are reproduced by the operatives or not; and overproduction is followed by famine to them. The very prosperity of one great body reduces another great body to want in manufacturing industry. One would almost think there is a balance point in social well-being, which society has already reached, and that now the higher one end is

mounting, the lower the other end is descending. Although the peculiar manufacture of Lyons, the silk weaving, is declining, the country round Lyons is flourishing. Building, repairing, whitewashing, are going on briskly in the villages. New cotton or flax factories, iron-works, and steam-engine chimneys are rising along the river side. Steam-boats, rail-roads from coal works and quarries, river craft carrying goods, iron suspension-bridges across the stream, are far more numerous on the Rhone than on the Rhine,—bustle and business far more advanced. Industry, in spite of the trammels on its free development, is on the move in this part of France, although its objects are changing from the manufacturing of one single article of luxury, silk, to the production of a great variety of useful articles, for which the command of coal and water carriage in this district gives peculiar facilities. This will be a great manufacturing district, and only wants civil liberty to be so: it surpasses already, in the activity on the waters, and in the numbers of new factories, and manufacturing villages, and establishments on their banks, the German manufacturing districts on the Rhine. Here they are doing,—there they are but dreaming of doing.

The ancient palace of the popes at Avignon is now converted into a barrack for infantry. The popes resided at Avignon full 73 years, from 1303 to 1376. There is nothing remaining of those times, but the outward shell of the buildings, and the names of the different chambers—the chamber of inquisition, the chamber of torture, the chamber of execution, and among the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, it is said, a tendency to favour despotism, fanaticism, and legitimacy in royal rights. The chambers in the old papal residence, so agreeably handed down to posterity by their religious uses, and in which the names of victims are said to be legible on the plaster of the walls—subject to the doubt if writing was so ordinary an accomplishment in the fourteenth century—were washed in blood at the revolution. The crimes and sufferings spread over a century were surpassed in a day. And now these chambers of blood resound with the careless laugh and merry vaudeville of the young soldiery. A French barrack is worth seeing. The beds appear particularly good. Each private had a bed to himself on an iron bedstead. In our service, two and even three men are laid in one bed. The French peasantry, even in the lowest condition, are accustomed to good beds. A high pile of bedding seems a kind of ornamental furniture indispensably necessary

in their ideas of housekeeping ; and you see even in the single room households of the poor, a kind of display in the neatness and quantity of bedding. This taste has probably spread so widely as to act upon the military accommodation. Each bed had a brown cloth coverlet neatly covering the bed clothes, and the sheets and mattresses were as clean and nicely done up as in any hospital.—In this barrack it struck me as characteristic of the good relation between the officers and men, that on the inside of the door was stuck up a notice, that it would not be reputable to be seen in certain streets mentioned, on account of houses of ill-fame in them.

A great quantity of very good wit which might have served the owners for any of their lawful occasions, was expended some years ago upon the subject of cookery. The French began with their *Science Gastronomique*, their *Almanacs des Gourmands*, their saucepans and gridirons of honour, and a thousand equally witty sayings and doings. Our manufacturers of roast and boiled, and printed paper, our Kitcheners, Udes, and Glasses, were not behind, and mixed up their flour and melted butter with wit and philosophy as well as their neighbours. The subject is not quite so ridiculous as it has been made. The food of a people, and its preparation, are closely connected with their industry and civilisation. The female half of the human species do little other work in most communities but cook : and much more than half of all the work of the other moiety is applied to the direct production of the materials for cooking. The least observant and least hungry of travellers abroad is struck with admiration at the readiness with which a dinner of eight or ten dishes of various eatables makes its appearance in foreign inns, and remembers with no patriotic feelings the never-ready perpetual mutton-chop and mashed potatoes of the English road. Yet much of our national prosperity and wealth, much of the capital and productiveness of our labouring and middle classes, and especially of the industrious who are in a state of transition from the one class to the other, may be ascribed to the greater simplicity and frugality of diet among us ; and particularly to the great saving of time and labour in its preparation. A working man, tradesman, or man of the labouring or middle class in ordinary employment, sits down abroad to a much better dinner than a man of good realised capital and in a thriving way with us. The three or four well-dressed dishes, principally of legumes or other cheap materials, cost the foreigner less perhaps in money

than the bread and cheese, or simply-cooked mutton and potatoes of the English dinner of the man of the same class. This is the main economical advantage, indeed, which absentee families promise themselves from settling abroad. It is to them, no doubt, an advantage. They eat and drink more sumptuously than they could at home for the same money. But this way of living is of great social disadvantage to the people among whom it is habitual. Its cheapness is but a delusion. The political economist will differ widely from the traveller, in his opinion of its superiority. It costs a vast deal more time and labour to bring all this finely-cooked food together : it costs, at the least, twice as much of human time and labour to dine five millions of French or German people, as to dine five millions of English : and time and labour, be it remembered, are the basis of all national wealth and prosperity. Time and labour employed unreproductively are capital thrown away. The meals of the Englishman and of the Continental man end equally in satiating appetite, and recruiting strength. If this end be attained in England, by an hour's work of one person in a family of five in the ordinary station of life of our working and middle class, cooking generally but a single meal in the day in the simplest way, and on the Continent, owing to the general habit of living, the more complicated forms of cookery, and the more frequent meals, if the cooking for such a family occupies one of its members the whole day, the English family evidently has saved most capital, or that from which alone capital is produced—time and labour—in a given period. The loss of time in the eating and preparation of food, the numerous meals, dishes, and modes of cookery, form a very important drawback on the prosperity of families on the Continent in that station in which with us very little time, indeed, is expended in eating or cooking. It is an important diminution of the means of national wealth. Gourmandise is found also to be a vice as troublesome to deal with among the French soldiery, as tippling among ours. The craving for variety of food and cookery leads to most of the irregularities and depredations in the field, of which the French armies are accused. The variety in food, and in its complicated preparation, which is so blended with the habits of living on the Continent that even the poor have the craving for it, appears by no means necessary or conducive to health. A remarkably smaller proportion of the labouring and middle classes abroad are healthy-looking individuals, with blooming looks, pure teeth, and all

external indications of vigorous animal condition, than in our more simply fed population. It is evidently such a drawback on the acquiring of capital in the lower stations of life, that the want of a middle class of capitalists—of men who rise by industry and frugality from common labour to a wider circle of business—is very much to be ascribed to this habitual waste of time and labour in their family living and house-keeping. They spend in immediate gratification the beginnings of a working capital. The national wealth and prosperity is materially affected by this cause, trifling and ridiculous as it appears to be in stating it in a single case. In the total, however, it is fully a fifth of the time and labour of a Continental population, that is daily wasted in cookery and eating.

CHAPTER XII.

NOTES ON GENOA—POOR OF GENOA—CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF GENOA.

GENOA—Genoa the superb! I first set my foot on Italian land on the mole of Genoa. Who does not picture to himself, on approaching the mole of Genoa, the grand days of this once powerful republic—her doges, her Doria, and all her magnificent aristocracy stepping in splendid array on board of gallant fleets, that carried her dominion over the realms of the East? How unromantic is reality! The moles of Genoa, as works of magnificence and art, are but shabby quays, not to be named on the same day with the quays of Leith, Dundee, Aberdeen, or dozens of our third-rate shipping towns on the British coast. I see in Genoa only a town of eighty thousand inhabitants, covering about as much ground as Aberdeen, built at the foot and on the slopes of some rocky barren knolls of about the same elevation, and as bare, as the upper half of Arthur's Seat near Edinburgh, and which surround a bight of the coast, called by courtesy a bay, of about the size of one of the larger wet docks at Liverpool, at the bottom of a gulph of the Mediterranean. This bight is made a tolerably secure port by two piers or moles dividing it into an outer and inner harbour; the latter for small craft, and containing a good many of them, and the other for larger vessels, of which, that is, of brigs and traders to foreign parts, there might be a score or more— a show of masts certainly inferior to what we see daily in our third-rate ports, such as Dundee, Aberdeen, or Leith. This is, next to Leghorn, the greatest commercial port on this side of Italy—one of the main mouths of the export and import of a population equal to that of Great Britain—so that the poor muster of sea-going vessels in it surprises the traveller.

The streets of Genoa are in general so narrow that two ladies in the huge sleeves lately in fashion would certainly stick if they met each other. They are all paved with flat stones of a foot or two square, laid diagonally, and with an open channel in the middle of the alley for the run of water. Climate is a better scavenger than the dean of guild, or dirt-bailie of our ancient

Scotch burghs. These narrow Wynds and Closes of Genoa are not dirty, and from the constant draught of air through such narrow funnels, are sweet and cool in hot weather. The buildings on each side of these narrow alleys are palaces—lofty, magnificent, extensive palaces rising to the skies, excluding heat and even light from the two-legged insects dressed in brown woollen cloaks crawling between them.

Here in Genoa, the imaginative traveller may revel in his descriptions of orange groves, vine-clad hills, and marble palaces, mingled in luxuriant magnificence, and rising against a background of heaven-high peaks of snow cutting into a deep blue sky above, and washed beneath by a sea still more intensely blue. But that miserable proseman, the political economist, goes dodging about this magnificent city, the city of palaces, the Genova la Superba, asking, Where do your middle classes live? Where did they live in the days of Genoa's greatness? He sees now, that the same roof covers the beggar and the prince; for on the ground-floors, under the marble staircases, and marble-paved halls, and superb state rooms on the first-floor, there are vaults, holes, and coachhouse-like places opening into the streets, in which the labouring class and small shopkeepers pig together, living, cooking, and doing all family work, half and half in the open air. But was this always so? Where did, or where do they live, who are neither princes nor beggars? Who are a degree above porters, or day labourers, or the small shopkeeper or tradesman living by their custom, in the means and habits of a civilised existence? Where be the snug, comfortable, suitable dwellings for this middle class, the pith and marrow of a nation, which cover the land in England and Scotland so entirely, that the great mansion is the exception, not the rule in our national habitations, wealthy as the nation is? Here, all is palace, and all is noblesse, public functionary, and beggar. They reckon in Genoa, in clerical function alone, 6,000 persons, and 7,000 military. Sweep away the edifices of nobility, those appropriated to public functionaries and their business, together with churches, convents, hospitals, barracks, theatres, and such public buildings, and Genoa would scarcely be a town. Yet Genoa is not a poor town in one sense. Many of these palaces are inhabited by a wealthy nobility, and, it is said, there are more capitalists, more great capitalists in Genoa, than in any town in Italy. To have erected, and to keep up such palaces as they live in, or even to afford so much dead stock as is invested in the mere material,

the marble, gilding, pictures of value, ornaments, and costly furniture, speaks of enormous wealth, both in past and present days. Some traveller tells us, that the Italian noble will go on building and building at a family palace from generation to generation, living in the meantime in a corner of it, or in a garret, poorly and shabbily. This is certainly not the case here. I underwent the usual sight-seeing penance of the traveller, and was trotted by a valet-de-place through sundry magnificent palaces; the Palavicini, the Brignoli, the Durazzi, and others. These appeared to me as complete in furniture, establishment of servants, and all the magnificence of life, as any nobleman's mansion in any country. In one palace, for instance, as we entered the hall in the morning about nine o'clock, the chaplain of the family was going into the drawing-room to read family prayers, the servants went in after him, a goodly number, neatly dressed, just as in any orderly English family of high rank, and we were asked to wait in an adjoining room, until the service was over and the family had retired to the breakfast-room, in order to show us some paintings of note in the grand drawing-room. It was more interesting than the pictures to see this magnificent apartment, although gilded, curtained, chandeliered, and ornamented with a costliness suitable for the residence of a crowned head, yet comfortably as well as splendidly furnished, with a carpet fully covering the floor, a blazing fire in the chimney, tables covered with books, ladies' work in baskets and work-bags, scattered about the room, and with a home look of daily use and domestic enjoyment about every thing, which resembled the taste of English life. Many of the old wealthy mercantile nobility have apparently fallen from their high estate, and, in the course of ages, have been extinguished, or become impoverished; for vast edifices, in fact, costly palaces, are occupied by innkeepers and others, who could never have built them for the uses they are now put to; but evidently a class of very great capitalists remain. They, with a very great body of destitute people, and the military, civil functionaries, clergy, and the small dealers and tradesmen living by their expenditure, now constitute the population of this once powerful republic.

May not the history of Genoa's commercial greatness and decline become, in the course of ages, that of England's? May not the one show in small, what the other will come to in large? Is not the same element of decay common to the social economy

of both? It is in the nature of trade and manufacture, that great capital drives small capital out of the field; it can afford to work for smaller returns. There is a natural tendency in trade to monopoly, by the accumulation of great wealth in few hands. It is not impossible, that in every branch of trade and manufacture in Britain, the great capitalist will, in time, entirely occupy the field, and put down small capitalists in the same lines of business; that a monied aristocracy, similar to that here in Genoa, will gradually be formed, the middle class of small capitalists in trade and manufacture become gradually extinguished, and a structure of society gradually arise, in which lords and labourers will be the only classes or gradations in the commercial and manufacturing, as in the landed system. An approximation, a tendency towards this state, is going on in England. In many branches of industry—for instance, in glass-making, iron-founding, soap-making, cotton-spinning, the great capitalists engaged in them have, by the natural effect of working with great capital, driven small capitals out of the field, and formed a kind of exclusive family property of some of these branches of manufacture. Government, by excessive taxation and excise regulation, both of which have ultimately the effect, as in the glass and soap manufacture and distillery business, of giving a monopoly to the great capitalist who can afford the delay and advance of money these impediments require, has been hitherto aiding, rather than counteracting, this tendency of great capital to swallow all the employments in which small capital can act. It is a question practically undetermined, whether the experiment into which this tendency has forced society within these few years, the junction of small capitalists in joint-stock, subscription, or share companies, can compete in productive industry, with great capital in the hands of one or two partners wielding great means with the energy, activity, and frugality of an individual. It is not an imaginary, nor perhaps a very distant evil, that our middle classes with their small capitals may sink into nothing, may become, as here, tradesmen or small dealers supplying a few great manufacturing and commercial families with the articles of their household consumpt, and rearing supernumerary candidates for unnecessary public functions, civil, military, or clerical; and that in trade, as in land, a noblesse of capitalists, and a population of serfs working for them, may come to be the two main constituent parts in our social structure.

A Genoa in large, England may possibly become—with one small class living in almost royal splendour and luxury; and the great mass of the community in rags and hunger.

I went to see the poor-house in Genoa, a vast ancient palace in which about 1800 poor are kept upon the principle of making them work for their living. Work, or material of various kinds suited to the trade or ability of the pauper, is given out to each, and, when finished, it is sold or valued, the cost of the material and of the rations of food or other necessaries supplied to the pauper while producing it, deducted, and the balance paid to him in money. Rational as this principle of relief appears to be, I am in doubt whether it answers well, or rather in no doubt that it answers ill. In the small population of a town, the effects may be more distinctly traced than in an extensive national system upon the same principle; but the effects must be the same. The kinds of employment given to the pauper are necessarily those which the poor usually live by, and which require few, and not expensive tools, and are easily acquired and exercised; such as coarse weaving, rope-making, ordinary joiner-work, shoe-making, tailoring of slop clothes, &c. Among 80,000 people in a town, the work of 1800 working in a poor-house, or as out-door paupers, at the common trades of the poorer class, displaces exactly so much of the work of the latter, makes them poorer—is robbing Peter to pay Paul. The poor artisan whose market is anticipated, and overstocked by a forced production from the poor-house, and at a cheaper rate than he who has to buy the material by retail can afford to produce the article, must go to the poor-house himself. This is clearly the effect, in the great as in the small, of applying public or subscribed capital to pauperism, in a way that interferes with any branch of industry in which the poor usually employ their own time and labour to keep them out of pauperism. If this be true, the only kind of industry which is suitable either for pauper or penal employment in a community, is that which interferes with the means of living of no other class in the community: and that is only labour applied to the direct production of the pauper or penal labourer's own food and necessaries, as in the poor colonies in Holland, either in husbandry, fishery, or work connected with what they themselves consume.

When we reflect on the former greatness and the present decay of this once powerful state, how important the lesson it teaches! not the common-place lesson only of the instability of

human greatness—but that the misapplication of capital, or rather of human industry—for capital is the command of human labour and time, embodied in the form of money—is the cause of the instability of greatness in empires, as in individuals. Look at this city of Genoa! at the millions upon millions that have been expended unreproductively! The loom, the ship, the steam-engine, the factory, reproduce their own cost with a profit, and the whole is laid out again and again, and to the latest generation, reproductively; but the palace, the gorgeous ornament, the pageant, the display of pomp and power in fleets and armies and courtly splendour, reproduce nothing. The labourer earns his needful food during the time he is employed in producing them; that done, he is no richer than at first, and the means of his employer to re-employ him, the capital which, laid out in a reproductive way, would have gone on to all posterity, augmenting and extending employment, well-being, and civilisation, is fixed down and buried in a pile of stones. The labourers of the day earned their wages for piling them together, consumed and paid for their meat and drink during the time, and that is all the result of the outlay of capital, which, if the Genoese nobles had employed it reproductively in manufacturing or transporting the objects of civilised life for the consumers, instead of in building huge palaces, would have vivified the East. Capital is a bank-note for so much human labour. If its value is not reproduced by its outlay, the holder of it is wasting his means, and the industrious of the country suffer a loss.

I mourn not for Genoa. Distant countries conquered, plundered, oppressed, reduced to subjection and barbarism, to enable a wealthy and ostentatious aristocracy to vie with each other in splendid extravagance—the middle class extinguished, the useful arts and manufactures, those which diffuse comfort and civilisation through society, and extend by their productive action the sphere of human industry, postponed to the ornamental or fine arts, to those which administer only to the luxurious enjoyment of the few, and add little or nothing to the means of living, well-being, and industry of the many—in the downfall of such a state—of a people of princes and beggars—what is there to regret? Lord Castlereagh need not turn him in his grave, if the annihilation of the Genoese aristocracy be the greatest of his diplomatic sins.

CHAPTER XIII.

NOTES ON NAPLES—SCENERY—VESUVIUS—POMPEII—NEAPOLITAN PEOPLE—CAUSES OF THEIR LOW CONDITION.

THE Bay of Naples will not disappoint the expectations of the most imaginative of the tribe of wanderers. Distant mountain peaks tipped with snow rising in the clear intensely blue sky, are encircled by the deep green forests, below which bright pasture and grass fields join to a rich network over the face of the country of vineyards, orchards, olive and orange groves, hamlets, towns, villas, terraces, white walls, and a dazzling confusion of the works of nature and of man. This splendid hill-skirting terminates in sea-cliffs, some black, some yellow, some bare, some bending over the waves under the tangled luxuriance of southern vegetation. High over all, the graceful outline of Vesuvius loses itself in the column of smoke which rises, and spreads in the heavens, concentrating the innumerable details of the vast scene into one harmonious glorious whole. But this magnificence of nature must be seen: it cannot be described. It is seen to most advantage from the sea. On shore you want a suitable foreground. You are shut in between white walls on a dusty road, or stand upon terraces with vineyards and orchards, row behind row, all around you; and although these may please at a great distance, they have but a patchy, dotty effect near the eye, as the foreground of scenery. The poet-painter would scarcely select such objects for the foreground of his landscape. They are too artificial. The great clearness of the Italian atmosphere, the absence of mist, vapour, or exhalation partially hiding, partially showing distant objects, and thus giving the mind play upon them, is also against the picturesque effect of this scenery in general. All is distinctly seen. There is no delusion, or rather there is the delusion that distances appear smaller, and elevations lower than they actually are. In our northern scenery, from the vapour in the atmosphere, the refraction of the rays from a distant mountain makes it visually, and to the sense of sight positively higher, than the actual measurement confirms: and where mist and cloud partially hide the mountain, there is a mental refraction magnifying the unseen,

as well as a visual refraction enlarging the seen. It is this difference of the medium through which a country is viewed, and which, in our cloudy atmosphere, brings our own imaginations to act on objects of mountain scenery, that makes the traveller from the north doubt whether the mountains he sees so clearly and minutely in the south, are really so much higher than those he has been accustomed to see half hid in mist and vapour.

Vesuvius is an isolated mountain about three miles from the sea, of an elevation of 3,792 feet. An American would call it an elegant mountain, and no English word can better express its character, so graceful are the flowing outlines of its slopes from the base to the summit, on every side. Vesuvius has been prodigiously higher than it now is, for the Monte Somma, a peak about 800 yards north of the present cone, and Ottaiana on the south, are apparently peaks remaining of the circumference of the base of some vast ancient cone. These three remaining peaks, of which Monte Somma is the highest, belong to one mountain base, although divided above by chasms of the vast extinct crater, and by ravines below, and the whole mountain mass is a single independent elevation on a vast plain, and unconnected with the Appenines. To ascend Vesuvius is no very difficult feat. The stranger is beset with guides waiting at Portici with their mules and asses, and like watermen at the Tower stairs, clamorous for a fare, and so violent in their gesticulations, that the traveller might suppose they were going to roast him at the volcano, and were quarrelling about their shares of the meat. But it is the custom of these people to scream at the top of their voices in ordinary conversation, and to use their hands and arms, as well as their tongues, as explanatory organs. In fact, no guide is necessary, there being a regular footpath, and the shape of the ground, to lead any one accustomed to hills, and the footpath is well frequented at all hours. You ride up to the hermitage, a house of two stories high, like an old Highland manse, about half-way up, or about an hour and a quarter's walk from the beginning of the ascent. It is situated on the dividing ridge between the ravine through which the lava of the ancient crater of Monte Somma has flowed, and that through which the lava of the present crater, in its recent eruptions, has partly taken its course. It is a ridge formed apparently by the deposition of stones and ashes from the volcano, upon a natural feature of the ground rock of the mountain. The hermitage is at the end of the cultivated ground on the side of Vesuvius. Above it, all is

lava or scoriæ, and some of this rubbish was still so hot, that lava ejected eight months before ignited dry leaves thrust into its crevices. At this hermitage you may get hermit's fare for your money, a bottle of good wine and an omelette: and ladies are carried to the summit from hence in about an hour and a half, in a sort of sedan-chair, with about as much fatigue and danger, as in being sedanned on a frosty night from the lowest to the highest of the fashionable streets of the city of Bath.

Is there any reason for supposing that the fire-seat, the focus of this volcano, is situated far below the level of the plain on, which the mountain stands, and is not contained altogether, or principally, within the walls of the mountain itself? Travellers and geologists are very apt to run poetical when they fall in with burning mountains. They tell us that this and the other great volcanoes of the world are vents of a great central fire in the interior of our globe. How does this vast central fire burn without known communications with atmospheric air or water? At what depth below the crust of the earth is it in activity? In the last eruption of Vesuvius, in 1839, the elevation in the air to which luminous matter, stones, or ashes were thrown, was estimated or guessed by intelligent observers to be about one half of the apparent height of the mountain. In the great eruption of the 8th of August, 1779, the height of the column of flame or ignited matter, was estimated at one and a half the height of the mountain, or 1800 yards: and Sir William Hamilton even reckons it to have been 3,600 yards, or above two miles high. Stones, as large as hogsheads, are stated by the Abbé de la Torre to have been projected to the elevation of 400 yards. In 1775, a mass of lava of 120 cubic feet is stated by de Bottis to have been projected to an elevation from which he reckoned the descent to have occupied nine seconds of time. This fact would also give an elevation of about 400 yards. Now the projecting force cannot have been working at any immense distance below, such as the semidiameter of the earth, nor at any considerable portion of it, because gravity and atmospheric resistance would oppose the elevation of huge masses of stone through such a space. No solid masses of matter, such as stones, rocks, lava, could be projected entire and compact, against the column of air through such a distance; but would come to the surface of the earth from such a depth, be the crust over this central focus ever so thin, in a liquid or gaseous state. The points of ejection, also, the vents of a central fire-action, would naturally be always and

invariably in the points of least resistance; that is, in the lowest plains, not in the points of greatest resistance, the summits of high and weighty mountains resting on the plains. The prodigious power of volcanic agency on and above the surface of the earth, is the strongest proof that the focus of that power is at no immense distance below its visible energy. The supposed communications between Vesuvius and Etna, Stromboli, Hecla, or even the Solfaterra, are not supported by historical facts of any correspondence between their eruptions. The communication, even of this volcanic focus with the sea, at three miles' distance, is very doubtful, and rests only upon the ejection of torrents of water in one or two of the recorded eruptions: but besides the explanation of rainwater accumulating in the hollow of the crater, and at one period forming in it a small pond or lake, the gases evolved in the combustion within the crater might, by their combination in the air, produce water. Water from the sea passing through such a focus of fire, would undoubtedly be ejected in a gaseous state.

The most instructive appearance to the traveller who carries the ordinary smattering of geological theory with him is, that the ashes, cinders, dust, stones, whether loose, or indurated and cemented by pressure, heat, or other causes, into tuffa rock more or less compact—in short, all ejected matter from the volcano that is not ejected in a liquid state like lava, is deposited in a distinct order or stratification. The larger particles are in one regular bed, above which is another bed of finer, above that another and another of finer and finer particles, each bed lying with a certain character of regularity above the other, as in water depositions; and then comes another bed or layer of rougher, larger particles, and a similar gradation of finer regularly above it. Where the tuffa rock is laid bare in section, as by the road leading to the hermitage, and also in the rocks about Naples, and in the excavations at Pompeii, this stratified tendency of the ejected matter is to be seen. When the matter—dust, ashes, fine particles, stones—is ejected, the densest falls first to the ground, is the first deposited from the atmosphere, exactly as if water instead of air had been the medium in which the particles had been suspended. Then follows bed after bed, each in succession, according to the size or gravity of its particles. A new ejection of the same eruption follows with the same succession from coarse to fine particles, deposited upon the former deposition. If this tendency to stratification in the

ejected matter of volcanic agency be confirmed by more extensive observation, it would explain in a satisfactory way many puzzling geological appearances—such as the stratified formation of rocks composed of crystalline or chemically aggregated particles, the veins or bands of rough pebbles in old red sandstone, the stripes alternating in almost all rocks. If geologists exclude all regularity from volcanic agency, and confine stratification to aqueous deposition, how many deluges must they take to account for a striped pebble, or a sandstone with bands or beds running through it at every three or four inches, or lamellated structure, of any kind? And how would they account for the formation of gneiss with its character of regularity in the arrangement of its particles? The striated arrangement of its constituent particles, and the lamellated structure and stratified formation of rock of crystalline or chemically aggregated particles may all be explained without the clumsy supposition of some unknown fluid in which these particles were suspended, and from which they were mechanically deposited, by taking them as they naturally lie after being ejected by a volcano, and deposited in succession according to their gravity; and supposing them welded or partly fused together by the continuance or renewal of the heat. The air as well as water has been a medium in forming the mechanically deposited stratified rocks, and it is instructive to see, from what goes on at eruptions of this volcano, that many appearances ascribed to aqueous, belong in reality also to volcanic agency, and may be simply explained by similar processes going on here according to the usual law of gravity.

Pompeii, the victim of the mountain, loses much of its interest from the removal to the museum at Naples of every article that could be removed. All the ancient utensils, household goods, and personal ornaments of the inhabitants, had an interest upon the very spot where they were last used and handled by their owners eighteen centuries ago, which is lost under glass cases, in modern show-rooms, with a prattling cicerone in black silk Name-me-nots, showing them off. What remains at Pompeii are pillars of brick stuccoed over, walls stuccoed, and embellished with some rude paintings and ornaments in fresco on the plaster, done mostly with red ochre, and some mosaic or tesselated work in marble on the floor, representing, in black and white inlaid stones, ill-drawn figures of animals, and such ornaments. The interior arrangement of the houses is more interesting than anything remaining *in situ* at Pompeii. It gives us some idea of the

amount, or rather of the want of physical civilisation, of domestic comfort, and of luxury in the ordinary dwellings of the ancients. The streets of Pompeii have been narrow lanes ill-paved, and ill kept, the ruts worn by the cart-wheels in the bare rock appearing in the street; and from these ruts being single, it is to be presumed that there was little continuous traffic of carts in opposite directions, no lines of going and coming carts; but, as is the case now in small Italian towns, the carts have come in from the country in the morning, and gone out in the evening in the same ruts in which they arrived. The houses have been generally low, without upstair rooms, and constructed generally on one plan. An outside wall encloses a square or oblong space, and, except the street door, is without opening to the outside for light or air. The roof has run with a slight slope from this outside dead wall to an inner wall parallel to it, which determined the breadth of the apartments. A row of pillars connected with each other by round arches, or by beams within this inner wall all round the open space, has supported the extremity of the roof on every side of the square open court, and has furnished a covered colonnade all round it. In the centre of this open court, which is in the best houses paved with marble in ornamental figures, has been a fountain, cistern, or receptacle for the rain water from the roofs; and this open court appears to have been the drawing-room of the mansion, or its equivalent. The doors and windows of all the rooms have opened into the colonnade. The rooms are very small, about ten or twelve feet square, and have been dark and ill ventilated; the windows, small openings, in general without glass, and for sake of shelter, made in the inside wall under the roof of the colonnade. The rooms have seldom communications with each other, but each opens into the covered gallery or colonnade. The best rooms are very small, have never been lined with wood, but merely plastered, and a rude ornament in ochre or red lead delineated on the plaster. Under this square of dwelling rooms has been a sunk floor, or square of vaults for cellars, and for lodging the slaves. In one of these was found the skelcton of a slave, who has had a bell fastened round his neck as we put a bell on a cow or sheep. In none of these mansions which, with masters and slaves, must have been very close, crowded, and inconvenient, is there any appearance of an outhouse, yard, privy, or detached building of any kind. The rooms have been merely used to retire to at night or in bad weather; and the open court in the centre, the covered colonnade running round it, and the bath-room have been the living places

by day. A basking, Lazaroni, out-of-door life has been then, as now, the way of living in this part of Italy.

The two distinct theatres, one for comedy and one for tragedy, and the amphitheatre with its seats for the different classes of spectators, its dens for the wild beasts, its issues for them, and for the prisoners condemned to be their victims—often prisoners of war, not criminals—are the most interesting remains of public structures in Pompeii. What a singular state of barbaric civilisation! The whole population of a little town of six or eight thousand inhabitants, even the female sex, the vestals, spectators of such scenes of carnage! All classes delighting in combats which have not had even the excitement of an equality between the parties, or of a doubtful issue, or of the possibility of the escape of the human combatant! The sheer lust of blood-and-torture spectacle has been the only gratification of this refined people! The scholarship of eighteen centuries has been extolling Roman virtue, Roman civilisation, Roman arts, arms, and institutions, until men are almost afraid to express the opinion, that the fine arts, sculpture, architecture, poetry, oratory, and all the rest of them, have been vastly over-rated as indications or means of civilisation. The Romans, with all these, were in a more uncivilised social condition, had more of the tastes and habits of savage life in their highest and most refined period, than the inhabitants of New Zealand or of the Sandwich Islands, when we first discovered them. King Tommaha or Prince Pommaree was, in reality, much less of a savage, than Julius Cæsar, or Augustus.

Naples is a wonderful den of human animals. Beggars, thieves, idlers are lounging at every corner; ladies, monks, and military fill the streets. Where is the industry, or what the means and capital, that keeps this mass in life and movement? It must be the concentration and expenditure of almost all the incomes and revenues of the kingdom, in this one spot, by nobility, churchmen, and military. The bustle and hubbub in the Strada de Toledo is as great as in the most crowded street of London, but if you mark the stream of people, you see the crowd here consists of idlers hanging about, not of passengers hastening silently through on their affairs. All are talking at once at the highest pitch of their voices, and hands and arms are going as violently as tongues. In the secondary and poorer streets, people squatting on the stones in the sun or shade, sleeping, eating, working, hunting for vermin in their clothes, playing a favourite

game of betting on the number of fingers held up (a Roman game, *micare digitis*), all out of doors, and all screaming like peacocks, give no favourable impression of their social condition.

It is very striking to see in this finest soil and climate of Europe, this land overflowing with the richest productions for the use of man, the peasantry and townspeople of the labouring class clothed in sheep skins with the wool on, and in all respects worse clad, more wretched, and in food, lodging, property, sense of decency in their habits and ways of living, in a lower condition than the Laplander on the Norwegian fields. Their fine climate is their curse. Many of the wants and desires which with us are the greatest stimulants to industry, and to all the virtues that spring from industry, are of little importance here in the catalogue of human gratifications. Life may be enjoyed without them; and therefore the industry is wanting, along with the motives. The labouring man with us, who could ask, Why should I strive to get regular employment, or to earn high wages? would be deemed insane. To buy meat, drink, fuel, lodging, clothing, and social respect among those of your own station, would be the reply. But in this country, the labouring man is no fool, who asks, what enjoyment or gratification can high wages gained by constant hard work, give me, equal to the enjoyment of doing nothing, of basking in the sun, or sleeping in the shade, doing nothing? Fuel, clothing, lodging, food, are in this climate supplied almost spontaneously to man. Fuel to cook with, is all we need of firing, and even that may be dispensed with by most working people, for our food is sold to us ready cooked at the corner of every street. It would be waste and no comfort in it, to light a fire in our own dwellings. Clothing we only want to cover our nakedness; a ragged cloak, or sheepskin jacket three generations old, does that. Lodging is only necessary to sleep in, and shelter us from rain. A mere shed, like a coach-house, does that. We live out of doors. Animal food is not necessary, where olive oil is so plentiful as to be used for frying all vegetable and farinaceous food, and assimilating it as nutritious aliment to flesh meat. Olive oil, wine, Indian corn, flour, legumes, fruit, are to be got in exchange for our labour at vintage and harvest, during a few weeks when these crops require a great number of hands at once. Why should we labour every day? This is the condition of all around us in our station; why should we labour?

It is the case, that steady, regular, every-day industry is ac-

tually not required for enabling these people to satisfy the few wants which the blessings of the climate, of the soil, and of the cheap nutriment of olive oil, Indian corn, small fish, and fruits leave them; and they only work by fits and starts. Lazaroni is rather a character, than a class of the people. They are all Lazaroni in their social condition, in the lounging about idle, and in a state almost of nudity, when not forced by want to look for a short job; and in their out-of-door way of living. It is in the nature of the products of the climate, that the demand for labour on the land is desultory—requiring great numbers of hands for short periods; and, consequently, the payments are made in portions of the material worked upon, not in regular wages. But this material includes those necessaries of life for which, in other climes, people must labour steadily, day after day. The amount of food here, in chestnuts, figs, fruit, legumes, cakes of Indian corn, various small fish, and in the nutriment of olive oil added to these otherwise unsubstantial articles of diet, surpasses all we understand by abundance in northern countries; and all these require but very little human labour for their production. Food for the idle, that is food requiring small and irregular application only of human labour, is abundant; and this is evident, from the way in which common work is carried on. Time and labour seem not worth saving in their estimation. The women are universally sauntering about, spinning wool or flax with the distaff and spindle. A woman will spin as much yarn at her spinning wheel in an hour, as in a week with her distaff and spindle. But I doubt if a spinning wheel could be found in Naples. I have seen two men carrying between them, slung upon a pole on their shoulders, a common-sized paving stone. One of them could have transported six such stones in a common wheelbarrow, with ease. Boats are manned with six or seven, or even ten men. A man and a boy, or at the utmost, two men, would be the crew of such a craft in any other country. I have seen two asses with a driver to each, and a padrone, or overseer, on horseback to attend them, employed in trailing into town two sticks with each ass, one on each side of the saddle, and the sticks positively of a size that one of the drivers might have carried the whole four. In every job, the padrone, the helper, the looker-on, the talker, and the listener, seem indispensable personages. The division of labour may be an evil as well as a good in society. It is an evil, if the time and labour saved by it be not applied to reproduction. It is an evil among these

Lazaroni. Six men doing the work of two, merely multiply themselves and their idle habits by their division of labour. They do nothing with the time and labour they have gained by the division—if they have gained any by it—in their way of working. This is a point not so thoroughly considered by our political economists as it should be. The saving of time and labour by machinery, or by a supplanting of labour by machinery, or by a division of labour, is not of itself of any value, nor is it adding to national wealth of itself, as our great political economists Adam Smith and M'Culloch teach us. It is only of value and adding to national wealth, if the time and labour saved be employed in other production. Steam, for instance, applied to pumping water out of mines, to moving machinery, and so on, adds to national wealth, only because the men and time employed in pumping or in moving hand-engines, are immediately employed in other analogous productive labour. But if they could not be employed, if any branch of industry, as, for instance, all husbandry labour, or all shoemaking, or all tailoring, could be executed by steam machinery, the nation, the community, would be no gainer, unless the classes thrown out of work, and idle, can be, and are, employed and absorbed in some other kind of productive labour. One class only, the employers, would be gainers at the expense of another class; and unless that class can become productive in some other branch of industry, there is a loss, not a gain, to the nation, even by machinery. The division of labour here is the offspring of idleness, not of industry; and produces idleness, not industry. It is followed by no increased production. This evil, in the social condition of the people of Italy, is so closely connected with the nature of the soil and climate, that it may be doubted if the inhabitants of this part of the Italian peninsula, ever were in any higher state of civilisation than they are in at this day. What were the inhabitants of Pompeii, but a population of slaves cultivating the earth in chains, of Lazaroni basking in the sun, and of public functionaries and patricians of enormous wealth, to whom the Lazaroni were so formidable, that it was necessary to feed them and keep them in amusement and excitement by such shows and bloody spectacles as suited their half savage state? The mass of the people then, as now, have had no wants, but those which the soil, with desultory labour, could supply—no civilising desires for comforts and enjoyments, which industry only produces.

It is characteristic here of the social condition, that all trades-

men's work—shoemakers', tinsmiths', coppersmiths' work—is carried on out of doors, in the open air, amidst the gossip and bustle of the street passengers; and all domestic business is done on the pavement, or in cellars, or vaults of coach-house-like dwellings, with a side open to the street, leaving the whole interior of their households exposed to view, and only shut in at night or in rainy weather, there being no windows to these dens. The sense or feeling of domestic privacy, or the tastes, civilised habits, and virtues connected with this feeling, cannot exist, where the whole family are separated from the view of the passengers in the streets, even when in bed, only by a bit of mat hung up for the occasion. Whoever considers well the causes which act on the social state of the Irish or Neapolitan, and the Swiss or French people in the same station of life, will find that the lodging of a population, the ordinary standard of house accommodation for the families of the lowest class, is very closely connected with their moral condition. The first step, perhaps, towards the imbuing the Irish people with the peaceful habits they are accused of wanting, would be giving them timber free of duty, for building their dwellings on a civilised standard of accommodation.

The soil and climate which produce industry, produce the real crop on which man lives in well-being, civilisation, and comfort, and not the soil and climate which produce the objects of industry: and viewing the world in large, industry will be found to thrive in every country, almost in the inverse ratio to the value and amount of its natural productions. This is a just balance made by Providence in the lot of man. With their crops of wine, oil, silk, grain of every kind, and endless succession of fruits and of vegetable food, with their perpetual fine weather and easy life, what is the condition produced by these very advantages, of the inhabitants of this earthly paradise? the poorest cottar on the poorest hill-side, in the north of Scotland, is a decently clothed, decently brought up, intellectual man, with habits and ideas of a civilised being, compared to the half-naked, filthy, half-savage human animal wallowing in a sheep-skin with the wool on, and a tattered brown cloak, as his only body covering, upon the marble steps of the palaces and churches of Italy. The soil and climate are not more superior in the neighbourhood of Naples to the soil and climate of the north of Europe, than the social and moral condition of the people is inferior. But moral causes, as well as physical, have their part in this low

social condition of the people of Naples. The population is reckoned about 338,000 souls. It is a city, therefore, about one-third more populous than Glasgow. Here we see strikingly the social effects of functionarism, in withdrawing from the paths of industry the class who should be diffusing employment in the useful arts among the labouring classes around them. In Naples there are 4,632 secular clergy. If to these we add the monastic clergy, of 1960 monks, and the nuns who are 717 in number, we have in all 7,809 persons withdrawn from the pursuits of industry, and earning social influence and all that men strive to obtain by industry, in other employments than the useful arts. We see here, in its extreme, the working of a forced church extension, of a numerous establishment of clergy in a community. The effects will be proportionably the same whatsoever be the religion; the same proportionably in Presbyterian Glasgow as in Catholic Naples, if the clerical body were increased upon the principle of what governments and clergy may think requisite for a people, instead of upon the principle that the people themselves will provide for their own religious instruction according to their wants, and recipient capability of using it. Carry the clerical establishment of Glasgow to 4,873 persons, which would be in proportion to that of Naples—if that number would satisfy our admirers of church extension—abstract this number from the pursuits of productive industry—and Glasgow would be another Naples.

This Naples is the St. Giles's of Europe. I would advise the first pedlar who travels this road to bring in his pack a goodly assortment of small-toothed combs—not that the natives are civilised enough to need such machinery—they use more summary measures, and you see them sitting all of a row before their doors with their heads in each other's laps in turns, and searching for—animated ideas—but for the benefit of the English ladies who may visit Naples. A man impregnates his skin with the effluvia of tobacco and wine, and offers no such tempting pasture to the herds and flocks of his Neapolitan majesty; but a delicate English lady, in all her cleanliness and loveliness, swarming, as she must be—whew! The English lady, in fact, must leave all her delicacy at home, and all her blushes, unless a small travelling assortment, if she intends to reside among this more than half-naked, and all-alive people. The country about Naples may be an earthly paradise; but it is paradise after the fall, given up to the serpent for an habitation.

CHAPTER XIV.

TRAVELLING IN ITALY.—VETTURINI.—CAPUA.—TERRACINA.—PONTINE MARSHES, —MAREMMA.—THE APPROACH TO ROME.—COLISEUM.

THERE are three ways of travelling in Italy. One is to travel post, carrying all England along with you in your own English travelling carriage. With English books, English servants, English habits, and a foreign courier to cheat him, the English traveller may get over a good deal of country, and a good deal of money in this way, without the trouble of taking in any more ideas, or loading the memory with any more weighty matters than in seeing a diorama passing before his eyes. Another way is to travel in your own foreign carriage, with hired horses, with which the vetturino drives you to your journey's end, at the rate of five-and-twenty or thirty miles a day. There is often the inconvenience attending this way, that as the driver, at the end of his engagement, may have to ride his horses back without any return fare, which he would have if the carriages as well as the horses belonged to him, you are not much cheaper, and are vastly slower in your movements, than with post horses: and the owner, or vetturino, will scarcely come himself to ride back with his horses if he can put off any lad upon you to do the job. The third, and ordinary way of travelling for all ranks in the country, is by a voiturin, or vetturino, who has his own carriage and horses. They are a class of coach proprietors, many of them intelligent, respectable men, who drive a light carriage of their own that will hold four inside and two outside passengers, and with a pair of gaunt, bony horses. You engage the number of places you want, and the vetturino visits all the inns to find other travellers going the same road to fill up the empty places. There is, of course, considerable difference in the rates paid, even in the same carriage, for the same distance, as the vetturino will take any fare at last rather than none. It is necessary, also, to have a regular contract in writing, and to insure it by taking an earnest upon it —a piece of money from the vetturino, which is returned to him when he is fairly on the road; for in Italy it appears to be the

principle in all dealings between man and man—impose if you can. The average expense, travelling in this way, is about 16s. sterling a day for each passenger: but this includes your living on the road, that is, a dinner-breakfast—dinner as to the fare, but breakfast as to the hour, about ten or eleven—a good supper at eight or nine in the evening, and your bed. The vetturino always engages for the living, and the traveller is much better served, and more cheaply, than if he paid for himself. The vetturini form a class all over the Continent, known to each other, and have the innkeepers at their command, because the inn which had the reputation of serving their passengers ill might as well be shut up. An English family travelling in their own carriage with four post horses, would not get the best beds, or the best fare at every Italian inn, if a known vetturino with his passengers came to the door at the same moment. The ordinary way of their travelling is, to start at four in the morning, and stop at nine or ten. They start again at two, and travel till six or seven, and in this way get on for weeks together, at the rate of thirty miles a day. The old-fashioned arrangement of the vetturino undertaking for the lodging and feeding, as well as for the transporting of his passengers, is not, as our English tourists imagine, devised for the sake of saving them from being imposed upon by Italian innkeepers. It is a remnant of ancient manners from the ages of pilgrimages and crusaders, when bands of pious passengers from all parts of Christendom contracted with conductors to lead them to Rome, and purvey for them out and home. It is at this day the best way for the traveller to see a foreign country. It takes him as fast over it as he can go with the advantage of seeing what is remarkable, and brings him into contact with people of the country, and travellers of all kinds and classes.

We set out early in the morning from Naples by Vetturino, and got to Mola de Gaeta for the first night's quarters, stopping in the forenoon, for a few hours, at Capua. The road to Capua is over a highly cultivated fertile plain. The most fertile land in Europe is probably hereabouts, in the plain watered by the Volturno, because with the finest climate for vegetable production, the soil is a deep black, alluvial, garden mould, which, in any climate, would be rich land; and from its flat surface, and low level, it retains the necessary moisture, or receives it easily by irrigation. The gods, says Polybius, might dispute the possession of such a delicious plain, as that of Capua. Yet in

this earthly paradise, the people are not merely in rags and wretchedness; it is difficult even to conceive humanity in so low a condition, as you see it in here. In the streets of Capua, you see animals which you can scarcely acknowledge to be human beings. The Esquimaux has a covering for his body, which, even in his rude state, shows a sense of decency, as well as the mere feeling of cold—a sense of ornament even, may be traced in his seal-skin garment. But here the sense of decency, even in the female animal of the human species, is apparently little higher than among the irrational creatures. How low bad government may reduce the civilisation of a country, is impressively brought out here. Come to Capua, all ye conservatives of existing institutions, all ye defenders of things as they are, all ye good, pious, moral gentlemen of England, who look with aversion on every reform, with horror on every social change, come to Capua, and see the working of your principle of conservatism. It is not the wish certainly of the Neapolitan government, to have its subjects in a low and miserable condition; but it is the fear of change, our own principle of conservatism—which shuns all improvement; and where society is not improving, it is retrograding. There is no stand still in human affairs.

From Mola de Gaeta, where a branch of low hills from the Appenine chain approaches the coast, we travelled next day to Terracina, passing through the beautiful scenery around the little towns of Itri and Fondi. Fondi is more celebrated for the attempt, in 1534, of Hayraddin Barbarossa with a Turkish squadron to carry off, for the seraglio, the beautiful Countess Julia de Gonzagua, than for the eloquence or logic of Thomas d'Aquinas. Yet here he taught theology. He was a great man in his day, and for generations after his day:—for ideas never die, and his may still be influencing theological and metaphysical science.

In this Italian atmosphere, there is a transparency in the shadows seldom seen in our climate in our rural scenery. With us, all that is in shade is indistinctly made out. The shadows in our landscape paintings and drawings, are often laid in muddy, because, in fact, they often are so in nature—and it is not every painter who is a poet of the brush; who can select, and avoid, or take what nature offers. Copying nature literatim, is not painting well. Here objects, even in the deepest shadow of a mountain, are very distinct, both in outline and colour, although kept down and subdued by the general shade: and this atmospheric peculiarity

in the real scenery of Italy gives a peculiar character to the paintings of it, a something different from the way in which the artists of other countries would conceive and express the same objects under the same circumstances.

In strolling about Terracina, in defiance of malaria, which has its headquarters here, I came upon a little water-mill with a perpendicular shaft turned round by the rill of water striking upon vanes inserted obliquely in it to receive the impulse—the mill of the Scandinavian peasant, and still found in the Shetland islands, and some of the Hebrides. How very little progress had been made by the ancients in the useful arts, at the time when many of the fine arts were carried to great perfection! A good mill is a machine which, if it ever had existed in a country, could never have been lost as an invention. The Romans have ground their corn in hand, or cattle mills, or mills worked by slave labour, or in such rude machines as this water mill, at a time when, in architecture and sculpture, they had made a progress not yet equalled. Cicero's bread was made of flour ground in such a rude imperfect machine! They had neither shoes to their feet, nor shirts to their backs, when to please the eye they had statues and magnificent buildings which are still the admiration of the world. The woollen tunic next the skin worn while it lasted, the woollen toga, coarse and heavy as a horserug, and the raw wool much less perfectly cleaned of its animal oil than a horserug, must have rendered the windward side of the Roman gentleman, with all his luxury, considerably the most agreeable on a sunshine day.

On leaving Terracina, we come upon the Pontine marshes. The Roman Maremma, or Campagna, extends from the frontier of Tuscany, to the Neapolitan frontier, and from the foot of the Appenines to the Mediterranean. This tract, including in its widest scope Rome itself, is all more or less unhealthy, or subject to malaria, but is not all marshy. The greater part, on the contrary, is a flat dry pasture land, with too little, rather than too much moisture, the ditches holding no water for want of a retentive subsoil, and the ponds, and watering-places for cattle, artificial. The Pontine marshes included in this Maremma, begin here at Terracina, and occupy an area of about eight leagues in length along the coast, by about two in breadth; and are so inundated that they cannot be cultivated or inhabited. The whole marshy surface in this state has been estimated at about 56,000 English acres. On the south this marsh is bounded

by the sea, or by salt water lagunes; on the east, by the high grounds and shore at Terracina; on the north, by the high grounds about Velletri; and on the west, by the plains of Cisterno. This marsh is formed by the rivers Amasino, Uffente, Cavatella, Tippin, Ninfo, and other mountain streams, which are the drainage of a large amphitheatre of country, but have no sufficient outlet, nor sufficient descent to carry off the waters they bring down. In the time of the Romans, great works, among others the canal by which Horace travelled, and the Appian way itself, were constructed for draining, and giving access to this tract; and although it was so far rendered habitable, that Pliny says there were three-and-twenty towns in, or round this district, the same author still speaks of it as a lake, or marsh, of which the exhalations were considered noxious as far as Rome. The draining of this marsh has often been attempted and abandoned in later times. The blame of the unsuccessful attempts at drainage, is always thrown by travellers upon the papal government. Bad enough the government may be, and like all governments, good or bad, it must put up with more than its own fair share of all that does not succeed: but the popes in reality, have not been so very inert in attempting to recover this land. Martin V., in the beginning of the 15th century, constructed a drain, the Rio Martino, on such a scale that it has been sometimes ascribed to the ancient Romans. His death, in 1431, interrupted this work; but in each succeeding century, in almost each pontificate, considerable efforts at drainage have been made. But to drain an extensive area of flooded marsh land on a level with the sea, or with very little fall, and receiving the water of a very extensive amphitheatre of high grounds, and hills, without any lower level to drain it off into, would puzzle the most Protestant of governments. The Mediterranean Sea, be it remembered, has no rise and fall, no ebb-tide giving a drainage of several feet of level for half of the twenty-four hours, as on our no-popery shores of Kent, Lincolnshire, or Holland. After leading the inland waters by canal to the sea side, there is, after all, no outlet or escape for them. This impediment to drainage on all the coasts of the Mediterranean, is insurmountable, and from century to century is necessarily increasing. Land is forming, and gaining upon the sea, by the diluvium of the rivers, and the accumulation of vegetable matter on it; but such low tracts never can have been healthy, never can be made so, and must every century, as the marshy surface extends itself, be growing less and

less habitable. True it is, these tracts are studded thickly with shapeless masses of ruined habitations, which show that the Maremma at least, if not the marsh itself, has been inhabited densely in the time of the Romans. But the agricultural population of the ancient Roman territory were slaves working in chains under a few freedmen as slave-drivers, or factors, and were in reality in no higher condition than the oxen, or husbandry horses of the present day. The waste of human life in this class, was regarded only as a matter of profit and loss. If a farm had to be stocked with slaves, the losses by fever, or malaria, was a matter of no more importance than the tear and wear of horses and cattle in any of our agricultural undertakings—a deduction merely from the gross value of the crops, to be allowed for in the calculation. The aqueducts, towns, arches, ruins great and small, thickly sprinkled over this waste and uninhabited Maremma, indicate no greater salubrity of the air in former days, but only a greater disregard of human life, nor perhaps any great resident free population.

The fixed inhabitants of the whole district called Maremma do not now exceed, it is said, 16,000 souls, as, owing to the unhealthiness, or malaria, few places in it are habitable all the year round; but from 25,000 to 30,000 people come down from the high grounds, the Abruzzi and the Sabine hills, to lay down the crops and to reap them. The unhealthiness is aggravated by this kind of migratory life of the cultivators. When there is work to be done in this flat unwholesome country, they leave the villages on the high ground to pass a few weeks or months in it, and wood being very scarce, as the Maremma is destitute of trees, they lodge on the ground in temporary straw or reed huts, like bee-hives in shape, put up in the fields in which they are working, with a few sticks or hurdles to support the straw or reeds; and into these huts the labourer crawls at night, and in the heat of day, and sleeps on the bare earth. Fever and ague would be inmates of such a lodging in any climate. This migratory life, also, is unfavourable to the morality, as well as to the health and industry of the people. A shifting population is always in a low moral condition, because the influence of public opinion upon private conduct is lost, where the individuals are isolated, and beyond the social restraints and influences which neighbours and friends exercise over each other in a fixed state of inhabitation. This appears to be the great demoralising influence in the condition of the peasantry or labouring class in this part of Italy,

and the true cause of the banditti life resorted to sometimes by people, who in general are found to be not the fixed inhabitants but the migrating wanderers about the Maremma. The little towns, also, in which the people live when not employed in the Maremma—viz. Cisterno, Gensano, Velletri, Albano, and many others, furnish very unwholesome lodging to the lower, and even the middle classes. The inhabitants occupy ill-ventilated cellars, or coach-houses on the ground floors of the better classes, or of ruinous decaying buildings not fully inhabited. A perpetual malaria must exist in these damp small dungeons, without ventilation, light, cleanliness, or any domestic convenience. The cooking goes on just within the door, which must be left ajar for receiving light, and letting out the smoke, it being door, window, and chimney, in most of the houses of the labouring class in these little towns. The beds are in the interior of the den, concealed by a bit of curtain, or more usually by wine casks, jars, or such household goods, piled up before them. In the far end twinkles a little lamp, night and day, before a print of the Virgin. This adoption by the Romish church of the *dei penates* of the ancients is general over Italy. Around these cellars, or ground-floor rooms, is an accumulation of old rubbish of former edifices, from which the exhalations in such a climate must be very unwholesome. The country never could have been healthy; and the mode of living could not be less favourable to the health of the people. From Naples to Rome you do not see one individual in a state of robust health. The whole population is of a sickly appearance, like convalescents from fever, or ague, sauntering about their hospital grounds.

The land all the way from Naples to Rome is held in large estates, let out to metayer tenants who provide the labour, and the landlord the land, stock, and utensils, and the produce is divided between the parties, or it is feued in perpetuity, or for long periods, at fixed and heavy feu rents in kind. From the little improvement, or alteration for ages, in the modes of husbandry, or markets in Italy, the difference in the value of old feu duties and their present value, and between the produce of the same land now and formerly, is not so great as with us in Scotland. The *dominium nobile*, and the *dominium utile*, are two distinct interests in the land here as with us; but the former has not become a mere illusory payment for the land compared to its present value; but is still a real rent of estates, and retaining all its original proportion to the value of the land.

In all these fine southern climates, one evil peculiarly affecting the condition of the working man weighs heavily against all their advantages. It is that, in reality, there are two winters in the year for man and beast. There is not only our winter, little felt, indeed, in some particular localities, as about Naples, but still wet, occasionally cold, and of such weather that agricultural labour is interrupted from the state of the land, cattle must be tended in doors, and in general in Italy it is very severe; but there is another winter as far as regards labour, a summer-winter, in which, for three or four months all out-door work of man and beast is suspended by heat, and much more interrupted than it ever is by cold in our climate. All cattle must be provided for in doors, as in winter. Fodder must be cut and water carried to them. From extreme cold, man and beast have a relief in hard work; but from overwhelming heat there is no relief but bodily inaction. All water power, as well as animal power, is interrupted by it, and many arts and manufactures cannot, evidently, be carried on in these southern climes, without an enormous waste of labour and life. This summer-winter, also, is the season of malaria, producing fevers among working people exposed to the heat and dews, far more generally, and dangerously, than epidemic diseases in our climate.

From Cisterno we got to Rome easily in a day, the third from leaving Naples, stopping at Albano to breakfast. Albano stands on high ground, from which the descent into the great plain of the Campagna is very impressive. This plain of the Campagna, boundless to the eye, is without trees, or houses, or ponds, or running waters, but is one vast sheet of dry, fine pasture grass, thickly studded with shapeless remains of buildings. The city of Rome sits by herself in the midst of this green, yet uninhabited, uncultivated, joyless desert. Rome sits here in lonely grandeur on her plain—a type of what Rome was of old in the midst of the world. The approach to Rome by this ancient Appian way has great moral grandeur. For twelve or fifteen miles, pieces of ancient pavement, ancient walls of bricks built checker-wise, shapeless ruins, masses of rubbish of considerable elevation, arches of demolished buildings, monuments with inscriptions not legible, fountains not running, and broken ranges of aqueducts for conveying water from the hills, are scattered in all directions upon the deserted plain—deserted by man, yet covered with remains of human power, and with the habitations of an extinct population. There is no sound or sign

of human industry on this lifeless sea of grass. The lark singing in the sky, and a solitary shepherd and his dog in the distant horizon, are all of living objects that strike ear or eye. You reach the gates of Rome through the silence and solitude of the grave. Within it, all is as silent, solemn, and destitute of movement as without. A clerical-looking soldier on guard, a half-asleep functionary of the custom-house, a few labourers working at remarkably slow time on the repair of the causeway, are all the concourse at the gate of the mistress of the world. You pass the gate, are within her walls, and are still in the country, with fields, gardens, and vineyards on each hand. Roads bounded by white walls on each side, a crucifix at every turn of the road, and in the distance a monk or a beggar crossing it, are all that, for nearly a mile within this gate, remind you that here is Rome. But our road becomes a street at last, with houses, palaces, churches, ruins, temples, triumphal arches, statues, fountains, priests, monks, soldiers, people, shops, carriages, bustle, and business.

We found some difficulty in lodging ourselves, as all the inns and lodging-houses are occupied on account of the approaching holy week of Easter, which is celebrated with great pomp by the Catholic Church. By going, however, a little beyond the circle within which strangers generally herd, we got very good lodging in the Via delle Quatre Fontané, at a moderate rate of two piastres a day—moderate for Rome at this particular season. It is reckoned that the population of Rome is increased by 30,000 strangers generally during the holy week. This estimate is probably an exaggeration in modern times, even if it include the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, villages, and country—the pilgrims of a day on foot, in carts, or in chaises, who come for a forenoon, and not strictly the strangers. The number of the latter is no doubt considerable; but the places of resort being the same for all strangers—the galleries and antiquities, and frequented at certain hours—one sees the whole body of foreigners, more than in other cities, at one time, and is apt to over-estimate their numbers. There are few or no diligences running daily between Rome and other distant cities: and taking the steam-vessels which stop at Civita Vecchia, the voiturins, and the post-horses at the different stations near Rome, into consideration, you see no means of conveying 30,000 travellers and their luggage to and fro, in any moderate space of time—nor one tenth of that number—to the holy week.

Artists, foreign clergy on business, and foreign nobility, with a few of the English of the highest class, and a great body of English travellers of the nondescript classes, form the mass of the foreigners. English signboards of "Horses to hire," "English grocer and tea-dealer," "Dealer in curiosities," and so on, show that there is a perpetual stream of English running through the place.

A valet-de-place, cicerone, or bear-leader, is the first of the Romans who makes his bow to you, and recommends himself as a guide to all that is remarkable in Rome, at the rate of five francs a day. He is a very useful personage at Rome, provided he is intelligent, and provided you never take him with you. If you do, you are the party fairly entitled to be paid for the day's work; for you have the fatigue of listening to a rigmarole of names and phrases that would tire the patient ear of any of his marble statues. But consult him in the morning before you sally forth, as a kind of two-legged dictionary, get all the information you can out of him about what you intend to see, and the way to it; pluck him and leave him at home, and the goose is worth his price.

The Coliseum, of all that Rome encloses, should be seen alone, and by moonlight. No other human monument speaks so strongly to the moral sense of man. The deep and lonely silence of the moonlight hour within its vast walls, is broken only by the chirping of the solitary cricket in the grass of that arena, which has resounded with the shrieks of human beings, the wild yells of ferocious beasts tearing them, and the acclamations of eighty thousand spectators rejoicing in the butchery. This is the triumph of the Christian religion. This immense edifice is coeval with Christianity, and is its noblest history. Eighteen centuries ago, the most civilised people on the face of the earth erected this huge pile for savage and bloody spectacles, such as no known tribe on the face of the earth at the present day is so barbarous, so destitute of humanity, feeling for others, and discrimination of right and wrong, as to enjoy or tolerate. The New Zealander, or the Cherokee of the present day, stands higher as a moral being imbued with feelings of humanity, and of duty to his fellow men, than the citizen of ancient Rome in his most civilised state. Is this no improvement in the social condition of man? Is man not in a progressive state as a moral and intellectual being? We may rather ask, if human nature itself has not changed during these eighteen centuries; and if we really belong to the same species

of beings, as the men who, eighteen centuries ago, laid those stones upon each other, for the uses for which this immense fabric was erected. These stones are still sharply square. Man has changed more than his works. How little appear all the squabbles between church and church, between Catholic and Protestant, Lutheran and Presbyterian, sect and sect, opinion and opinion, when we consider this sublime result of Christianity, as a whole, amidst these walls which witnessed its origin, its progress, and are now bearing testimony to its humanising influences on the condition of man! Details vanish before the sublime result. Time itself seems to vanish amidst the works of man standing for eighteen centuries, uninjured but by his own hands. What are eighteen centuries in the history of the human race? —a span of time too short to reduce their buildings to dust, yet long enough to elevate their physical and moral condition from the deepest barbarism, ignorance, and wickedness, to civilisation, knowledge, and religion; to raise them morally and intellectually to a new species of beings. The changes of eighteen centuries are enclosed within these grey walls of the Flavian amphitheatre. The mind involuntarily runs back over the footsteps of time, to consider what other events, influential on the condition of man, these walls have witnessed. Is it an unreasonably extended view, here amidst the remains of their power, civilisation, and barbarity of man, eighteen hundred years ago, to consider causes which first appeared in the world about three centuries back, as only now beginning to act powerfully and visibly in the affairs of society? The diffusion of knowledge and mental power by the art of printing, of religious inquiry by the Reformation, of new and artificial tastes and wants which sprung up suddenly and simultaneously in Europe, on the discovery of America and the navigation to the East, and which are now more influential among men, as motives of action and industry, than the natural wants connected with the support of life—for such are the acquired tastes for objects unknown in former times, as tobacco, coffee, sugar, distilled liquor, which now set in motion more of human activity than the Roman power ever wielded, or all the monarchs of Europe in the present day can command—the introduction of a new article of food in the potato, of a new clothing material in cotton, of a new power for human use in steam, are causes which, if we reflect on their obscure, and unobserved origin and first progress, and their subsequent vast development and influence on the human race in this age, we

must regard as events in the moral world, parallel and equivalent to those deemed miraculous in the physical. These mighty causes must work out mighty effects in the social condition of man. It is absurd, it is almost impious, to suppose that such moral wonders have been called into action for no purpose—and that the social arrangements constructed when these were not in existence, or only beginning to influence human affairs, can be adapted to the future social condition of man, and should be pressed down upon it as of fitting capacity and suitable mould. It is an error not dissimilar to that of the first Jewish converts to Christianity, who witnessed the not more astonishing miracles in the physical world, and supposed the effects were to be confined within the circumcision and the law. The whole of civilised society is in a state of transition. The laws, institutions, the very ideas belonging to those ages of darkness and barbarism which followed the downfall of the Roman empire, are silently but rapidly passing away, and a new state of society is forming itself. A day will arrive in the progress of the human race, when every record or trace of our existing establishments will be regarded with the same curiosity with which we now regard those of the Roman power before its decline. The feudal arrangements of society which sprung up and overspread its ruins, are in their turn decaying, and giving place to other ideas and principles; and in this slow but certain succession of one system of human affairs to another, like the successive formations of rocks in geological science, the philosopher and the truly pious man hail in every change an evident amelioration of the moral and physical condition of mankind, a wonderful advance in religion, morality, good government, and wellbeing; and leave to the bigots in legislation and religious forms the inconsistent and fruitless attempt to hold back this mighty movement of divine and beneficent will for the improvement of the moral and physical condition of its creatures. These walls of the Flavian amphitheatre may witness in the next eighteen centuries—and no natural cause seems to forbid the idea of their enduring so long—changes and improvements in the state of human society, as great as those which have consigned them in our times to the lizard and the owl.

CHAPTER XV.

NOTES ON ST. PETER'S.—ON ROME.—POPULATION.—POSITION.—CAUSES OF THE RISE OF ROME.—ORIGIN OF RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.—CIVILISATION OF ANCIENT ROME.

GREAT is my veneration for the opinions of all constituted authorities—from the pope's to the kirk-session officer's—from the lord of session's to the town-crier's—and doubly great for the opinions of the self-constituted authorities in the realms of literature and taste. In the courts of these authorities, animosity, virulence, and bad feeling, rise high, just in proportion to the smallness and unimportance of the matters in question. With fear and trembling, therefore, I venture to propound my own secret heresy in a small matter of taste, and to avow that St. Peter's, the great cathedral of St. Peter, appears to me a great architectural failure. The parts are magnificent, and the whole of no effect, by reason of the magnificence of the parts. They divide the effect, distract the attention of the spectator, and prevent any adequate impression from the first view of the structure, so vast as a whole. The spectator only views it piecemeal, not as one mass. We all know that St. Paul's, with its dome, could stand inside of St. Peter's; yet the impression of St. Paul's on the spectator is so much greater, that it is with difficulty, and upon consideration and comparison only, that he admits the dimensions of the fabric, and especially of the dome, to be so greatly inferior to St. Peter's; and he finds the dome of St. Paul's far more impressive and grand than that of St. Peter's, both in the near and in the distant view, both inside and outside. The reason I imagine to be, that the dome of St. Paul's is simple, without accompaniment; the spectator sees it, and it alone; and receives its full impression undisturbed, without, by any superfluity of parts, or within, by any profusion of ornament. St. Peter's, again, is overloaded in the exterior by so many accompaniments of pillars, colonnades, and ornaments, that the mind receives no undivided impression from it as a whole. The inside, with its silk hangings, brilliant paintings, polished marble pillars, statues, gold and silver altar ornaments, is like a peep

into a child's penny show-box. All is tinsel and glitter; neither the eye nor the mind takes it in as a whole; but views it in detail, and, from the multiplicity and splendour of the parts, with a kind of painful distraction. You stand under the dome of St. Paul's with an undivided feeling of awe. You cross and recross St. Peter's before you are led to look up at all, so many other objects press upon your notice; and when you do, it is from comparison and reflection, not from immediate impression, that you arrive at the conclusion, that it must be very vast and sublime; and that you ought to feel its grandeur, but somehow you don't.

An important principle in the fine arts, and in literary composition, is involved in this superior effect, produced by the inferior structure of St. Paul's in consequence of the simplicity and unobtrusiveness of its accompaniments or parts.

I have read or heard somewhere, that architects admit that St. Peter's appears less than it is at first sight; but that this is its great perfection, as this impression of its smallness is produced by the just and perfect proportion of all its parts. But, with all submission to architects and artists, this is sheer jargon. Architecture, in common with sculpture and painting, addresses itself to the mind through the sense of sight, and its end and object is to impress the mind with feelings of the beauty, grandeur, or sublimity of the object it produces. Now what kind of perfection of proportion is that, by which a building fails of this object of architecture; and by which, material, labour, and talent are expended in order to make a building appear less, and to produce an inferior impression on the mind, through the sense of sight, to that which it might do? The end and object of piling all these stones upon each other, was to produce at first sight impressions of sublimity, grandeur, or beauty upon the mind of the beholders. To send them home to reflect, calculate, and compare, in order to arrive at a just impression of the magnitude and sublimity of St. Peter's, is not the object of architecture as a fine art. The same quantity of stones and human labour in any shape, would, upon consideration and reflection, produce this after thought impression. To call that a just and perfect proportion, which fails in the end and object of the art, is the entailed nonsense of artists handed down from one generation to another, and adopted as hereditary undeniable axioms. In the fine arts, as in politics, many people can only see out of their neighbour's spectacles.

Rome is not quite so populous as Edinburgh. It contains 158,678 inhabitants. About a century ago, viz. in July, 1714, the inhabitants were found to amount to 143,000; but the Jews, not being human beings at that time in the estimation of the church, and who amount to 8000 or 9000, were not included in that enumeration. The number of ecclesiastics in the present population is 5267; viz. 1478 secular clergy, 2208 monks, or persons belonging to monastic establishments, and 1581 nuns. About a century ago, the whole ecclesiastical population was reckoned at 6285, and 1814 nuns. The houses of the middle and lower classes are four or five stories high, containing several families under one roof, with one common entry and stairs; and the streets are narrow, dirty, and without foot pavement. The Canongate and Cowgate of Edinburgh give a good idea of the ordinary streets of Rome. Half or more of the area within the walls is not occupied with buildings, and probably never was built upon. It entered into the principle of the military fortification of cities before the invention of gunpowder, to leave such a space as would protect the citizens inhabiting the centre from missiles, and would also furnish room and fodder for a day or two, for sheep or cattle driven upon an alarm within the walls. The enormous extent of walls around ancient cities, in some Eastern remains of many leagues in circuit, is by no means an indication, as antiquarians consider it, of an enormous resident population; but merely of the numbers of men who, from without as well as from within, and from a circle possibly of several leagues from the city, could be raised to man the walls on the approach of a besieging army. The fortifications constructing round Paris are laid out upon this old principle.

The expenditure of the large incomes of the nobility and high clergy resident in Rome, and of the revenues of the Papal States, estimated to be about 1,800,000 pounds sterling, and of which the greater proportion is laid out in Rome itself, every thing being centralised in this city, and the considerable sums, besides, expended by strangers, should make Rome one of the wealthiest cities in the world, for this expenditure among her population has been going on for ages within her walls. Yet no city, except Naples, displays so much poverty and misery, and has so many wretched idle people wandering about in it. They live each in his station, beggar or banker, thief or prince, upon this money that is passing through. They breed up to the subsistence it gives, each in his station; are numerous enough to keep

each other poor; and they do not labour. A people are not rich by the amount of money passing through their country; but by the amount of their own productive labour. Spain was, and Rome is, an example of the little benefit idle people derive from the mere unreproductive receipt and expenditure of money among them. They breed up to the amount, and are as poor as when the amount was small. Productive industry is the only capital which enriches a people, and spreads national prosperity and wellbeing. "In all labour there is profit," says Solomon. What is the science of Political Economy but a dull sermon on this text?

The seven hills of ancient Rome have been such elevations of alluvial formation as now exist on both sides of the river-valley of the Tyber a little higher up, and which on the left bank terminate at the Capitoline and Palatine hills. These seven hills have been eminences of from 50 to 150 feet high above the river-plain; and although the ruins of buildings and degradation of soil during so many ages must have reduced their original height, they are still very good town hills, as well marked in Rome, as Ludgate Hill, Holborn Hill, Snow Hill, or Tower Hill, in London. The houses do not entirely hide the natural features of ground. The Capitol is still a considerable eminence upon the ground plan of the city. The accumulation of earth at the basis of these elevations has been very partial. In some places the ancient pavements, as that of the Via Sacra, are upon the present surface. In other places the soil has accumulated several feet. The correct inference perhaps should be, that the sites, and ground around the ancient buildings, and the ancient streets themselves, never were levelled. The natural hollows of the ground were built upon or paved upon, and these have been overlaid irregularly by accumulations of soil. The difference of level between the Forum and the Capitol can never have been very different from the present, as we see the old bottom level of the Forum in the pavement, and it can scarcely have been so great as between the Castle of Edinburgh and the Grassmarket. A fall from the Tarpeian rock might have broken a man's neck sufficiently well, if the ground below was clear, and originally it was perhaps hollowed out, or naturally lower, as ground at the foot of a steep precipice usually is. The Tyber is a muddy or rather clayey stream, as yellow and thick as the water of a clay-pit in a brick-field. It is deep and rapid, but not wide, the bridge of St. Angelo crossing it in three small arches, with two

others having water only occasionally under them. It is deep and rapid enough to have been a good natural defence on one side for a town, and the population has always been principally on the left bank, between the river and the hills or eminences included within the walls.

What is there in the situation of this city, upon and around some small eminences on a plain by the side of a small river, which could give her that mastery over the neighbouring little states and towns, that led to the subjugation of Italy, and of the known world? Some principle in the physical advantages of the position of this city must have occasioned the continued advance of its power. The only very obvious advantage is, that the inhabitants of this position had a constant supply of water, had a defensible retreat on these hills, protected on one side by a river not fordable, and had the command of the whole plain of the Campagna, as a cavalry-power acting from a centre. The other cities and states conquered in the early period of the Roman progress were all situated, probably for the sake of drinkable water, among the hills which skirt the Campagna, and could only draw their forage, pasturage, and even their bread-corn, from this plain, the higher grounds around it being more adapted for vines and olive-trees than grain crops. Rome, from the hour of her foundation, occupied the best natural position for defence and aggression, had under her eye and command the routes up to the higher grounds by which the supplies of grain and forage of the other little states must pass, and they could only march into the Campagna with cavalry, or deploy troops in it, by a few routes known and seen from Rome. The amalgamation of every little rival city with Rome, and the voluntary removal of the inhabitants to Rome, indicate that her position commanded their military movement and food. Their supply of water has evidently not been so permanent and certain as that of Rome; and their forage and grain more exposed to destruction.

Here, as in every site of early inhabitation, water appears to have been the mother of society. Water has been the first of the common gifts of nature to all human beings, which has been claimed and appropriated by individuals. Water has been property long before land was appropriated, and it must, from the first day of the existence of the human race, have in the greater part of the world been appropriated by a community exclusively to themselves; and its use, from the first, been subject to laws

and regulations, as a property vested in the community, and not in any individuals of it. Civilisation, society, government, law, appear to have originated in those countries which are partially watered, that is, have water only at certain watering-places on great rivers, or at perpetual springs; but have it not at all seasons generally in the land. Necessity must, from the first day of human existence, have led men to congregate at those particular watering spots, and to appropriate them, as a society, to their own peculiar use. In those countries in which water is abundant every where and at all seasons—as in North America—no such natural want has forced men into social union, and they still wander uncivilised, unconnected, and without government or law, unless to the extent that self-defence obliges them to unite in nomade tribes. Civilisation comes to such countries from without by their subjugation, or their intercourse with more civilised people. Civilisation itself has arisen from the necessity of supplying a natural want—has sprung from the waters. In India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Mexico, the earliest civilised countries of the old and new continents, and those in which men have first congregated in societies, water, from the very nature of the countries, must have been appropriated, and been a cause of law, government, and regulation from the very first day of the existence of human beings in them. I conceive this to be a more reasonable conjecture upon the progress of man to social union and government, than the fanciful theory adopted by philosophers, of men passing through three distinct stages, from the hunter state to the shepherd state, from the shepherd state to the agricultural, and thence to the appropriation of land, and the adoption of law and government. There is no tendency of, nor motive for, men in any one of these states to pass into the other. The hunter and shepherd require the range of a hundred hills. Society, or even neighbourhood, is adverse to their subsistence. We see, in fact, that in North America and in Asia, people in the hunter or shepherd state never have got beyond that state.

If we consider the remains of ancient art, the cyclopean walls in Italy and Greece of an age prior to the Etruscan, and long prior to the Roman or the Grecian, the mounds of earth containing sculptured remains and gold ornaments of races of men forgotten even by tradition, which are found in the forests of America, and in the steppes of Asia—and, above all, if we consider the intellectual remains of former civilisation, more im-

perishable than the material, the structure, and relations of the religion, and of the languages of the rudest tribes, connecting them with a state of great mental development in those who first constructed those systems, we must come to the conclusion that the shepherd and hunter states are the retrograde, and not the progressive steps of the human race from one stage of civilisation to another, that the wandering uncivilised tribes of mankind now in the hunter or shepherd state, in America and Asia, are the expiring remnants of an earlier civilisation, and of varieties of our species which have originally stood on a far higher material and intellectual grade of social existence than at present.

It is no idle speculation to inquire into the origin of property. Hundred-weights of books have been written on subjects less important. Is the right of property derived from society? Does the individual derive his right to appropriate, to *individualise* a portion of land, water, or other of the common gifts of nature to the human species, from a previously existing right of the whole community to that property, and to parcel and grant it out to its several individual members, under regulations and conditions for the general good of the community? Or is society derived from the right of property? Have social union, law, and government, originated from individuals seizing on, and appropriating to their own exclusive use, portions of the common gift of nature for the subsistence of the species, and then meeting, and forming society for the mutual defence, by arms, law, and government, of their individualised property? Idle as such questions or speculations may appear, they are not without their practical application at the present day. The right of every man to do with his own as he likes, and the right of a government to interfere, either in the use and application of property, or in the general arrangement of property in the social economy of a country—as, for instance, to alter the distribution of the land by abolishing the rights of primogeniture in heritage—depend, in the abstract, upon this question—is society instituted for the protection of previously existing rights of property, or is property derived from previously existing rights vested in society?

What was the real amount of civilisation among the ancient Romans, understanding by civilisation the physical and moral good enjoyed by the mass of the community? This must not be measured by their literature, architecture, and statuary.

The state of the fine arts in a country is usually taken as the measure of the civilisation of its inhabitants; but it is altogether a fallacious test, for a taste for the fine arts, and great perfection in them, may exist with great barbarism. The Russian noble at the present day makes his slaves perform difficult pieces of music, or copy with wonderful precision the paintings of the best masters—just as the Roman artists, many of them slaves also, copied the Grecian—yet without the slightest advance of the operative, or of the community around him, in the comforts and conveniences of civilised life, by the effect of his labour. The buildings, baths, fish-ponds, statues, the amphitheatres, and temples of ancient Rome, belonged either to the public, or to a very small master-class in the community, and the population which produced them was not in any degree benefited, that is, raised to a higher physical or moral condition, by their own labour. This is the great and essential difference between slave labour and free labour. The slave labourer may be, and no doubt very often is as well fed, clothed, and taken care of, as the free labourer. The American slave-owner, the old West Indian planter, the Russian noble, tell us so, and many travellers confirm their account. But the labour of the slave does not tend to raise his condition. It carries no improvement in it upon his moral state. His physical state, even when it is equal in comfort and wellbeing to that of the free labourer, is not the fruit of his own labour. His civilisation is not advanced by his industry. The public works, theatres, and works even of utility, and the agriculture itself of the Romans, appear to have been all carried on for the gratification and use of a small master-class, by the animal power of men working in slavery, and suffering in slavery. The saving of labour—an object which has led to the perfection of labour in all the useful arts in our state of society—was no object in their state of society. All was done by slaves, and great multitudes of them at command, and by overseers or freed men entertained about the families of the great. Any thing may be produced, if waste of time, labour, human life, and happiness, be left out of the estimate of the cost of production. But this is not civilisation, although a country may be filled by it with temples, arches, statues, and amphitheatres. There is this radical difference between the civilisation of the fine arts, and the civilisation of the useful arts—the taste for the fine arts is gratified by the simple recipience of the senses. The individual is quiescent in receiv-

ing his gratification. The taste is principally a gift of nature, connected with the organisation of the individual, cultivated with little trouble, and to be enjoyed in slavery or in freedom. No exertion of his, or very little, is required to enable him to enjoy fine music, fine paintings, fine statuary, and no benefit to others is involved in his enjoyment. But the taste for the products of the useful arts can only be gratified in freedom, and by free exertion, mental and bodily, of the individual in a free social state. Industry, forethought, and social co-operation, besides the free use of property, are all necessary to enable the individual to gratify, or even form his taste for the useful arts, even in their most simple applications, as in his clothing, lodging, furniture.

The importance of the fine arts as humanising influences in society have been much over-rated. Such objects and tastes as belong to the fine arts are necessarily confined to the highest ranks of the community. No other class of society was thought of by scholars at the revival of literature and of a knowledge of the fine arts. It was the public, it was the sole patron of intellectual merit; and what influenced or gratified this small class which scarcely extended beyond the court circle of the monarch, was raised to exaggerated importance, and made a standard for all excellence; and the prejudice continues to this day. But in reality the great mass of society, the most moral, influential, and intellectual, and in every sense the most civilised portion of it in Europe, the middle classes, never, generally speaking, saw an object of the fine arts in their lives, have no taste for any of the fine arts, unless as these may be connected with their trades and occupations. Unless the fine arts are carried on as useful arts, that is, as trades repaying free independent industry, they neither add to, nor denote civilisation in a community; and then they add to it less than the useful arts, because from their nature they employ less industry. They depend entirely on the individual, on his single talent or genius, or execution alone; the useful arts on the co-operation of many individuals. Music, painting, statuary, and architecture, as far as it is a fine art distinct from masonry, employ but the head and hand of the one artist. If the humanising influences of the fine and the useful arts may be measured by the civilisation of those who cultivate them, the professors of the fine arts stand, as a class in society, below, in morality and intelligence, the class of manufacturers or merchants engaged in the production or circulation of the objects

of the useful arts. If the comparative influence on civilisation of the fine and the useful arts be measured by the state of society most favourable to their development, we find that it is only under despotic governments that the money, labour, and time of the community can be concentrated, and commanded into the production of objects of the fine arts; and it is under free government only, and the security of property and its wide diffusion in society, that the useful arts prosper.

The amount of independent industry in a country, that is, of the free labour, bodily or mental, which the labourer exchanges for his own gratifications, physical and moral, seems to be the true measure of its civilisation, and not its temples, palaces, statues, pictures, music. Can Bavaria be compared to Scotland in the enjoyments of civilised life by all the community, although the country is drained and squeezed to produce the frippery in the fine arts which adorns Munich? The ancient Romans, as a people, have enjoyed little of this independent industry, as the mass of the working producing population was in slavery. They wanted those objects of the acquired tastes which both give employment to and are the gratifications of industry in modern society. Annihilate in Europe, as gratifications generally diffused, and as incentives to industry, the use of silk, cotton, linen, and shoe-leather for ordinary clothing materials, the use of sugar, coffee, tea, tobacco, distilled liquors, spiceries, and our ten-thousand other modern stimulants or condiments for the gratification of the palate, the use of glass for the eyes, of steam and all machinery for the hands, of books, sciences, knowledge, religion for the mind, and leave only bread, wine, oil, and wool, as the main materials on which industry is employed, slave labour as the means of production, and triumphal arches, temples, amphitheatres, statues, public games, and spectacles of gladiators killing each other and of wild beasts tearing to pieces slaves—as the intellectual gratifications—and we get probably pretty near to a just idea of the civilisation of the mass of the people of ancient Rome in the most flourishing period of the fine arts.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE POPE'S BENEDICTION.—VATICAN LIBRARY.—TOMB OF CLEMENT XIII.—HORSES OF MONTE CAVALLO.—ANCIENT AND MODERN SCULPTURE.

THE pope's benediction of the people, from a balcony on the outside of St. Peter's, is a fine sight. Troops, body-guards, yeomen in red and yellow clothing of the costume of Henry VIII.'s time, splendid equipages, gaudily dressed servants, ladies, officers of all countries, monks, priests in great variety and contrast of habiliments, a moving mass of uniforms, feathers, and lace, and an assemblage of 30,000 people, not wedged into a tight, immovable heap, but undulating in the vast area in front of St. Peter's, form a very fine sight—very fine to talk about afterwards—but, to say the truth, a little tedious to wait upon. Sight-seeing is the traveller's dull duty.

The illumination of the cupola of St. Peter's, which took place the same evening, is also a fine sight—and is really a magnificent effort of art. The outline of the dome, the ribs, belts, windows, and all that would be drawn with the pencil in an outline sketch, are first illuminated in the early part of the evening with a steady but not brilliant light. This is the finest effect in the scene. The cupola looks like some vast thing suspended from the heavens. The lines of light give its form, and all between them is in utter darkness. On the first stroke of eight o'clock the lights start instantaneously into brilliancy, and all is brightness and dazzle. They have changed in figure as well as in splendour, and now form belts of diamond-shaped forms round the dome. This magically quick change—done while the first three strokes of eight are striking—is effected by a number of exercised people, one to every fifty lights, with blinds and cordage, to unveil them at once. The effect of all this glare is not so fine as before. The flickering of the lamps destroy the delusion—it is no longer a distant steady light suspended from heaven, but a huge chandelier upon the ground. It is altogether a sight worth seeing. The pageantry of the holy week concluded with a grand display of fire-works from the castle of St. Angelo. But fire-works are poor things. What is a sky-rocket to the

lightning? or a Catherine wheel fizzing upon a wall, over a yellow, muddy stream, to the silent moon hanging over the wide Atlantic?

Of all the tombs in the world, the Vatican library is the most impressive. What labours of mind, what hopes, fears, excitements, irritations repose here! The good, the bad, the dull, the bright, wisdom, folly, the poet's inspirations, the philosopher's speculations, the historian's researches—all the workings of the human intellect for ages sleep on these shelves, preserved, yet forgotten! In this cemetery of the mind, as in that of the body, the tomb is of more value than what it encloses. The decoration of the rooms, the bookcases, the vast extent of librarian-palace—palace in size and magnificence—make this the most princely establishment in the world. It is an establishment for show, and forming part of the suitable splendour of the head of the Catholic church, not a library for use. You see no books, the bookcases having doors of fine wood well locked; no readers, no catalogues: you must believe, because you are told that all the literary productions of every age, worth preserving, are entombed in these magnificent rooms. We are told many things harder to be believed than this.

You go to the library and galleries of the Vatican through a long gallery, in which a vast number of ancient inscriptions, on tombstones principally, are arranged on each side, and built into the walls. From the rude, irregular way in which the letters are cut in ancient Roman inscriptions, even upon triumphal arches, and under statues and such important objects, it must be inferred that people of the middle class among the Romans, the architects, sculptors, and the mass of the people who employed them, or saw their works, were not generally acquainted with the use of letters, with writing and reading. The letters of inscriptions, even upon objects of importance, are rudely shaped, of unequal sizes, with frequent omissions among them, with the words sometimes running into each other, sometimes with intervals in the middle, as if two distinct words; the lines not straight—in short, such work as a stone-cutter would make at the present day, in copying the strokes of an inscription laid before him, without his having any knowledge of their use as letters; and such work as only a public unacquainted with the use of letters would tolerate upon objects of art of the highest perfection. It is probable that the sculptor of the Minerva did not know his A, B, C. Great perfection in execution in sculpture,

painting, and music, is not incompatible with gross ignorance. Phidias may have been as unlettered as a Russian slave. A common millwright, to exercise his trade, must be able to read, write, calculate and think. The one is the civilisation of the fine arts, the other of the useful arts.

In St. Peter's, a tomb of Clement XIII., the work of Canova, attracts the general admiration of the travelling world, or rather the figures of a Muse, Genius, or somebody of that family, reclining upon a beautifully sleeping lion, on one side of the pediment, the figures of the size of life; and on the other side of it, a full length female of the same family, with a ditto also sleeping most naturally; and on the top sits the Pope in marble, in full costume, as good as alive, and as large. The figure of the reclining genius, and the sleepiness of the lion, are, beyond doubt, wonderfully fine, and well expressed: but where is the beauty or grandeur of conception, in putting a fine naked figure reclining, *tout à son aise*, upon a wild beast fast sleep? The beauty of the execution cannot redeem the poverty of the conception. What is there in the idea and combination, grand, poetical, agreeable, natural, or comprehensible? The parts and execution may be ever so exquisite, the idea is common-place, weak, unpoetical, and worthless. I admire this work, therefore, not as an effort of mind and imagination; but of chisel and mallet. In contrast with this finely executed piece of sculpture, and in that respect worthy of all admiration, look at the horses of the Monte Cavallo. These are pieces of ancient sculpture, ascribed, but without any sufficient reason, to Phidias, and Praxiteles. The horses are like nothing equinine. Their necks are thicker than their bodies. If such shaped horses ever existed, they must have been a cross between a Berkshire pig and a Shetland pony. Yet what fire, what life, what poetry in the attitudes of these uncouth animal-bodies in the act, apparently, of dashing over a precipice! The very unwieldiness itself of the shapes, brings out the energy of the attitudes. And the human figures, the Castor and Pollux, top-heavy figures like boatswain's mates, all head and arm, and breadth of shoulder above, and no corresponding breadth of loin, or buttock, or thighs and legs, to support such upper works of men—yet their attitudes, and grouping with those hippopotami-like horses, are poetical, are grand, and give grandeur and effect to the parts. In Canova's work, the parts give the value to the conception: here the conception throws its grandeur over the parts. Who thinks

here of the finish, and artistical execution? If fine forms of men and horses were the things intended by these ancient sculptors, they have, in truth, succeeded marvellously ill. But evidently these poet-artists never intended to give a fac-simile of a horse down to his shoe nails, and of a man down to his epaulettes and pigtail. They give an idea, like the poet's, made out in part, and in no more completeness than enables the imagination of the reader or spectator to work out the rest. The heads of the horses, the feet in the air, have the last touch of art; these parts live, and are in all the energy of action. The rest is in sketch, is purposely blocked out only. The spectator's own mind throws over the whole work the spirit, character, and energetic action of the heads. Canova's work in this tomb proceeds upon a different principle—the very embroidery on the hem of the Pope's garment is carefully made out—the tailor who sewed it might depone to every stitch—and, with what I humbly conceive to be a littleness of taste, a corner of the robe is brought over the ledge of the pedestal, to show the fidelity of the representation of the piece of cloth. Those ancient sculptors have not put even bits or bridles on their magnificent horse-heads. The attitude and fire of what is represented, tell that these horse-like animals are in the act of springing, but are restrained. The attitudes of the human figures tell that they restrain. Buckles and bridles are purposely left out; because unnecessary to convey their conceptions in all their force to the spectator's mind. In modern sculpture, these minute details would be laboriously brought in, and exquisitely finished; overloading the conception intended to be conveyed, and weakening its impression. This appears to be the great difference between ancient and modern sculptures. The ancients were poets in the art, and philosophers, who had analysed the principles on which effect is produced, as well as great practical artists. In practical excellence in the art, in expressing physical beauty and grace of attitude in the female or the male figure, Canova, and the school of Canova, perhaps, equal the ancients. The Venus of Canova is equal, in the estimation of many, to the Venus de Medici, as a representation of ideal beauty and grace; but neither of these great works of art represent mind. Physical beauty and grace of attitude in the utmost ideal perfection is all they aim at. The Niobe, the Aristides at Naples, the Moses of Michael Angelo, and many busts here, belong to a higher class of composition than the works which merely express the perfections of shape, form, and attitudes of

the human body, which are called beauty and grace. They express also mental power, intelligence, working of mind, energy. In this class of works, the modern school of sculpture has productions not sufficiently estimated; as, for instance, the basso-relievo by Tenerani of two Christians, a brother and sister, exposed to a tiger in the Flavian amphitheatre. The expression of devotion and resignation mingled with fear, in the two principal figures, is great. The tiger and the slave letting him out of his den, are superfluous in the composition, as the story tells itself in the expression of the two principal figures. The Laocoon is considered one of the finest productions of the art of sculpture; because it represents not merely physical perfection of the human frame in action, but the physical sufferings. It does so. The countenance and whole attitude and frame of Laocoon express the utmost agony of bodily pain; but the Niobe cowering over her child in the attitude to hide or cover it, the Aristides speaking with dignity and energy, are works of a higher class, expressing mental suffering or acting. The false object of almost all modern sculptors to attain in their statues the highest *ideal* of physical beauty and grace, has the consequence, that in proportion as they approach the ideal, they lose the natural. They lose all individuality. The figures round the tomb of an Indian Begum, might do for Minervas, or Hebes, or Venuses, or Madonnas, or whatever the artist may choose to call them, by merely hanging about them the appropriate ornaments and appendages. The heads, figures, attitudes, and expression will do for any thing. In modern painting and statuary, what you see, are a few Grecian figures performing a scene. They are actors of all work. Walk on to the next piece of canvass, or piece of marble, you find the same countenances, the same figures, attitudes, costumes, and expression, representing persons, events, or conceptions of a totally different character, age, country, and people. Raphael gives you a touch of reality in his most ideal figures. They are each of them individualised. In the fresco painting, for instance, of a Venus pleading to Jupiter, in the Farnese palace, there is reverence, mingled with anxiety and grace, in the countenance of the pleading figure—and it is an individual's face and form. It is not the faultless, inexpressive Grecian countenance, belonging to a class rather than an individual, such as represents Venus in the works of other painters. Apollos, Venuses, Apostles, Madonnas have, in fact become, both in marble and on canvass, conventional figures, which the spec-

tator refers not, to any natural type of the beautiful within his own feeling, nor to any individualisation of nature's excellences; but to an acquired taste—a taste which a century ago would have represented, and have admired an Apollo in a full-bottomed wig, and a Venus in a hoop-petticoat and flounces; and now represents and admires them in costumes, attitudes, and style of countenances, quite as widely apart from the natural in any human beings we recognise, or have fellow-feeling with. Until sculptors and painters emancipate themselves, as our poets have done, from this classical imitation and prestige, and follow natural instead of conventional types, as Michael Angelo and Raphael have done, the sign-painter and gingerbread-baker may claim brotherhood in their arts.

CHAPTER XVII.

CHURCH OF ROME—CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM.

THE power of ancient Rome in the meridian of her glory was not so wonderful as her subsequent and her present dominion over the mind of man. Physical power we can understand. We see its growth. We see its cause along with its effect. We see armies in front, and civil authority in rear. But this moral power, this government over the mind, extending through regions more vast and distant than ever the Roman arms conquered, is the most extraordinary phenomenon in human history. The papist claims it as a proof of the Divine origin and truth of his doctrine. The Protestant and the philosopher inquire what principles of human origin give this power over the minds of men such wonderful extension and durability. To compare the machinery of each establishment, the Catholic and Protestant, the means by which each of these churches works upon the human mind—an inquiry altogether distinct from any investigation or comparison of the scriptural foundations of their different doctrines—would be a noble subject for the philosopher and historian, and one belonging strictly to metaphysical and political science, not to theology. It would bring out many of the most hidden springs of mental action, would elucidate many of those great moral influences which have agitated nations, and which are sometimes dormant but never extinct in society; and would explain some of the most important historical events and social arrangements of Europe. A few observations upon the present state and working of the machinery of each church, as they appear to the traveller in passing through Catholic and Protestant lands, may turn the attention perhaps of the philosophic inquirer to this vast and curious subject.

Catholicism has certainly a much stronger hold over the human mind than Protestantism. The fact is visible and undeniable, and perhaps not unaccountable. The fervour of devotion among these Catholics, the absence of all worldly feelings in their religious acts, strike every traveller who enters a Roman Catholic church abroad. They seem to have no reserve, no false shame, false pride, or whatever the feeling may be, which,

among us Protestants, makes the individual exercise of devotion private, hidden—an affair of the closet. Here, and every where in Catholic countries, you see well-dressed people, persons of the higher as well as of the lower orders, on their knees upon the pavement of the church, totally regardless of, and unregarded by the crowd of passengers in the aisles moving to and fro. I have Christian charity enough to believe, and I do not envy that man's mind who does not believe that this is quite sincere devotion, and not hypocrisy, affectation, or attempt at display. It is so common, that none of these motives could derive the slightest gratification from the act—not more than a man's vanity could be gratified by his appearing in shoes, or a hat, where all wear the same. In no Protestant place of worship do we witness the same intense abstraction in prayer, the same unaffected devotion of mind. The beggar-woman comes in here and kneels down by the side of the princess, and evidently no feeling of intrusion suggests itself in the mind of either. To the praise of the papists be it said, no worldly distinctions, of human rights of property, much less money payment for places in a place of worship, appear to enter into their imaginations. Their churches are God's houses, open alike to all his rational creatures, without distinction of high or low, rich or poor. All who have a soul to be saved come freely to worship. They have no family pews, no seats for genteel souls, and seats for vulgar souls. Their houses of worship are not let out, like theatres, or opera-houses, or Edinburgh kirks, for money rents for the sittings. The public mind is evidently more religionised than in Protestant countries. Why should such strong devotional feeling be more widely diffused and more conspicuous among people holding erroneous doctrines, than among us Protestants holding right doctrines? This question can only be solved by comparing the machinery of each church.

Although our doctrine be right, our church-machinery, that is, our clerical establishment, is not so effective, and perhaps from the very reason that our doctrine is right, cannot be so effective as that of the Catholics. In the popish church, the clergyman is more of a sacred character than it is possible to invest him with in our Protestant church, and more cut off from all worldly affairs. It is very up-hill work in the church of England, and still more so in the church of Scotland, for the clergyman to impress his flock with the persuasion that he is a better man and more able to instruct them, than any other equally pious and

equally well-educated man in the parish, whose worldly circumstances have given him equal opportunity and leisure to cultivate his mind; and in every parish, owing to the diffusion of knowledge, good education, and religious feeling, among our upper and middle classes, there are now such men. The Scotch country clergyman in this generation does not, as in the last, stand in the position of being the only regularly educated, enlightened, religious man perhaps in his whole congregation. He has also the cares of a family, of a housekeeping, of a glebe in Scotland, of tithe in England, and, in short, the business and toils, the motives of action, and objects of interest that other men have. It is difficult, or in truth impossible in our state of society, to impress on his flock that he is in any way removed from their condition, from their failings or feelings; and it would be but a delusion if he succeeded, for he is a human being in the same position with themselves, under the influences of the same motives and objects with themselves in his daily life.

The machinery of the Roman Catholic church is altogether different, and produces a totally different result. The clergyman is entirely separated from individual interests, or worldly objects of ordinary life, by his celibacy. This separates him from all other men. Be their knowledge, their education, their piety, what it will, they belong to the rest of mankind in feelings, interests, and motives of action; he to a peculiar class. His avarice, his ambition, or whatever evil passions may actuate him, lie all within his own class, and bring him into no comparison or collision with other men. The restriction of celibacy led, no doubt, to monstrous disorder and depravity in the age preceding the Reformation—an age, however, in which gross licentiousness of conduct and language seems to have pervaded all society—but it is a vulgar prejudice to suppose that the Catholic clergy of the present times, are not as pure and chaste in their lives as the unmarried of the female sex among ourselves. Instances may occur of a different character, but quite as rarely as among an equal number of our unmarried females in Britain of the higher educated classes. The restriction itself of celibacy is unnatural, and in our church is properly done away with, because we receive the elements of the Lord's Supper as symbolical only, not as being any thing else than bread and wine, in virtue of the priestly consecration. The papists, who receive the elements as transubstantiated by the consecration, require very naturally and properly, that the priest should be of a sanctified class, removed

from human impurity, contamination, or sensual lusts, as well as from all worldly affairs, as far as human nature can by human means be. Both churches are right, and consequent in their usage and reasoning, according to their different doctrines. The Puseyites of the church of England alone are inconsequent; for if they claim apostolic succession, and apostolic reverence and authority for the clerical body, they should lead the apostolic life of celibacy, and repudiate their worldly spouses, interests, and objects.

But our Scotch clergy, placed by the Reformation in such a totally different religious position as to the nature of their function, are wrong in expecting a peculiar veneration, and in challenging a peculiar sanctity for their order. As a sacred order, or class, they ceased to exist, or to have influence founded upon any sound religious grounds, when the distinction which made them a peculiar class in the eyes and feelings of mankind, the distinction in their sacramental function, and consequent separation in all worldly affairs between their class and other men, ceased and was removed. The veneration and sanctity which each individual works out for himself by his personal character and conduct in his clerical functions alone remained. As a member of an order, he could take nothing, and *de facto* receives nothing. Superior education, and the prestige from Catholic times, kept up a lingering distinction in our Scotch country parishes in the last generation; but it seems a hopeless claim now in an educated age, for members of a profession not better educated than men of other professions, not separated by any peculiar exclusive religious function from the ordinary business, interests, motives, and modes of living of other well-conducted men, to obtain a separate status in society, analogous to that of the popish clergy. They have an elevated, and if they will so apply the word, a sacred duty to perform along with the ordinary duties of life; but they form no distinct sacred class, or corporation, like the tribe of Levi among the Israelites, or like the Catholic clergy among the papists, having religious duties or functions which none can perform but its members, and to which they are essential. Some of our clergy in Scotland in the present day would insinuate that they are, by virtue of their ordination, or of their duties, a sacred order or class in the community; but this is a papistical pretension so entirely exploded by our Reformation, that those of the Scotch church who make it are afraid to speak out. The genuine spirit of Calvinism, as adopted by the Scotch

people, acknowledges no such order of priesthood, admits no such principle. A presbytery has no claim, like the Roman Catholic bishops, to sacred apostolic power of ordination. Their examinations and licenses regard only the education, moral and religious character, and fitness of the individual to become a preacher in the established state-church, and to serve that particular charge to which he is called; but confer no spiritual gifts, no peculiar sacred powers; and for the good reason, that, in our presbyterian faith, no such gifts or powers are reserved for one class of men more than another; but scriptural knowledge, piety, sanctity, and all religious gifts, powers, advantages, and abilities, stand equally open to all men, to be attained through faith, and their Bibles. As an influential machine in society, our clerical establishment cannot therefore, from its nature, have such power over the mind as the Roman Catholic priesthood. The latter appears also to have taken up a new and more efficient position since the settlement of Europe after the revolutionary war. Catholicism has had its revival—and its priesthood has used it adroitly.

By the French revolution many of the most glaring and revolting abuses of the Roman Catholic church were abolished. In no Catholic country, for instance, not even in Rome, is the interference of the church or the clergy, in the private concerns, or civil affairs, opinions, or doings of individuals, at all tolerated. Its establishments, and powers discordant with the civil authority, have every where been abrogated. Monks and nuns are no longer very numerous, except in Rome and Naples, and are nowhere a scandal; and the vast estates of these establishments have generally, over all the Continent, been, in the course of the last war, confiscated and sold to pay the public debt of the state. In Tuscany, for instance, of 202 monastic establishments; viz., 133 of monks, and 69 of nuns, only 40 remain with means for their future support and continuance, and 162 receive aid from government, until the existing members who survive the confiscation of their former estates die out. The rich Neapolitan monasteries have, in the same way, been reduced in wealth and numbers. In France and Germany, the Catholic clergy, in general, are by no means in brilliant circumstances. The obnoxious and useless growth of the Catholic church establishment has, in almost every country, been closely pruned; and their clergy are, in reality, worse provided for than the Protestant. The effects of the Revolution have been to reverse the position

of the clergy of the two churches; and to place the Catholic now on the vantage ground, in the eye of the vulgar of the continental populations, of being poor and sincere, while the Protestant clergy are at least comfortable, and well paid for their sincerity. The sleek, fat, narrow-minded, wealthy drone is now to be sought for on the episcopal bench, or on the prebendal stall of the Lutheran or Anglican churches; the well-off, comfortable parish minister, yeomanlike in mind, intelligence, and social position, in the manse and glebe of the Calvinistic church. The poverty-stricken, intellectual recluse, never seen abroad but on his way to or from his studies or church duties, living nobody knows how, but all know in the poorest manner, upon a wretched pittance in his obscure abode—and this is the popish priest of the 19th century—has all the advantage of position with the multitude for giving effect to his teaching.

Our clergy, especially in Scotland, have a very erroneous impression of the state of the popish clergy. In our country churches, we often hear them prayed for as men wallowing in luxury, and sunk in gross ignorance. This is somewhat injudicious, as well as uncharitable; for when the youth of their congregations, who, in this travelling age, must often come in contact abroad with the Catholic clergy so described, find them in learning, liberal views, and genuine piety, according to their own doctrines, so very different from the description and the describers, there will unavoidably arise comparisons in the minds, especially of females and young susceptible persons, by no means edifying, or flattering to their clerical teachers at home. Catholic priests and monks at the time of the Reformation, may have been all that our Scotch clergy fancy them still to be; but three centuries, a French revolution, and an incessant advance of intelligence in society, make a difference for the better or worse, in the spirit even of clerical corporations. Our churchmen should understand better the strength of a formidable adversary, who is evidently gaining ground but too fast upon our Protestant church, and who, in this age, brings into the field, zeal and purity of life equal to their own, and learning, a training in theological scholarship, and a general knowledge superior, perhaps, to their own. The education of the regular clergy of the Catholic church is, perhaps, positively higher, and, beyond doubt, comparatively higher than the education of the Scotch clergy. By positively higher is meant, that among a given number of popish and of Scotch clergy, a greater proprotion

of the former will be found, who read with ease, and a perfect mastery, the ancient languages, Greek and Latin, and the Hebrew and the Eastern languages connected with that of the Old Testament—a greater number of profound scholars, a greater number of high mathematicians, and a higher average amount of acquired knowledge. Is it asked of what use to the preacher of the gospel is such obsolete worldly scholarship? The ready answer is, that if the parish minister of the Scotch church can no more read the works of the Evangelists, Apostles, and early Fathers easily and masterly in the original Greek, than any other man in the parish, knows them only from the translations and books in our mother tongue, to which every reading man in the parish has access as well as he, and if he has not had his mental faculties cultivated and improved by a long course of application to such studies as mathematics, the dead languages, scholastic learning, ancient doctrines in philosophy and morals, the ancient history of mind and men, and the laws of matter and intelligence as far as known to man, on what grounds does he challenge deference and respect for his opinions from us his parishioners? We are educated up to him. How can he instruct a congregation who know him to be as ignorant as themselves? Has the ordination of a presbytery conferred on the half-educated lad any miraculous gifts or knowledge? If he be as ignorant as his hearers of these higher branches of knowledge, which few have his leisure to arrive at, what is it he does know? What is the education, what the acquirements on which a presbytery, not better educated than himself, have examined and licensed him? He is like an apothecary ignorant of chemistry, compounding his medicines from a book of formulæ left in his shop by his predecessor, and without any knowledge of the nature and properties of the substances he is handling. It may be said that the standard of clerical education in Scotland at the present day, is as high as it ever was—as high as in any generation since the Reformation. It may be so; but if the public has become educated up to that standard, the clergy of the present day have lost the vantage ground of superior education and learning, and consequently of moral influence as teachers, as much as if the standard of clerical education had itself been lowered.

In the nature also, of our Presbyterian church service there is an element of decay of moral influence, produced by the general advance of society in education, intelligence, and reli-

gious knowledge. From the days of the Apostles to the Reformation, all instruction was oral, all knowledge was conveyed by word of mouth from the teacher to his pupils. But printing and the diffusion of books have reduced to insignificance this ancient mode of communicating knowledge, especially in abstract science. It is confined now to the branches of knowledge connected with natural substances, and the operations on them. Knowledge is imparted to the mind now, through the eye, not through the ear; and the book read, referred to, considered in the silence of the closet, has in all studies, sciences, public and private affairs, and intellectual acquirement, superseded, even in the universities, the duty and utility of the orator, lecturer, or speaker. Reading has reduced oral instruction to utter insignificance in pure science and in public affairs; and the ancient, but imperfect, mode of conveying information by word of mouth is banished to the nursery. The influence of the oral teacher naturally must decay along with the utility and importance of his occupation; and this principle of decay of the moral influence of oral tuition reaches the Presbyterian pulpit.

It is unfortunate, also, for the influence of the Scotch Calvinistic church, that its service consists exclusively of extemporary effusions or temporary compositions. These, composed in haste by men of moderate education, and often of small abilities, have to undergo the comparison, in the mind of an educated and reading congregation, with similar compositions, prayers, or sermons prepared carefully for the press, by the most able and learned divines. The moral influence resting solely on such a church service cannot be permanent. As a machinery, the English church is founded on a more lasting and influential basis; its established forms of prayer, unobjectionably good in themselves, not placing one minister or his compositions in competition with another, or with other similar compositions, in the public mind—the almost mechanical operation of reading the service well or ill, being all the comparison that can be made between two clergymen in the essential part of the church duty. The competition, also, or comparison of any other compositions of the same kind, however excellent, with the old liturgy, can never occur in the public mind in England; because the liturgy has use and wont, antiquity, repetition from childhood to old age in its favour, and is interwoven with the habits of the people by these threads, in all their religious exercises.

The comparative education of the Scotch clergy of the present

generation, that is to say, their education compared to that of the Scotch people, is unquestionably lower than that of the popish clergy compared to the education of their people. This is usually ascribed to the popish clergy seeking to maintain their influence and superiority, by keeping the people in gross ignorance. But this opinion of our churchmen seems more orthodox than charitable or correct. The popish clergy have in reality less to lose by the progress of education than our own Scotch clergy; because their pastoral influence and their church services, being founded on ceremonial ordinances, come into no competition or comparison whatsoever, in the public mind, with any thing similar that literature or education produce; and are not connected with the imperfect mode of conveying instruction, which, as education advances, becomes obsolete, and falls into disuse, and almost into contempt; although essential in our Scotch church. In Catholic Germany, in France, Italy, and even Spain, the education of the common people in reading, writing, arithmetic, music, manners, and morals, is at least as generally diffused, and as faithfully promoted by the clerical body, as in Scotland. It is by their own advance, and not by keeping back the advance of the people, that the popish priesthood of the present day seek to keep ahead of the intellectual progress of the community in Catholic lands; and they might, perhaps, retort on our presbyterian clergy, and ask if they, too, are in their countries at the head of the intellectual movement of the age? Education is in reality not only not repressed, but is encouraged by the popish church, and is a mighty instrument in its hands, and ably used. In every street in Rome, for instance, there are, at short distances, public primary schools for the education of the children of the lower and middle classes in the neighbourhood. Rome, with a population of 158,678 souls, has 372 public primary schools, with 482 teachers, and 14,099 children attending them. Has Edinburgh so many public schools for the instruction of those classes? I doubt it. Berlin, with a population about double that of Rome, has only 264 schools. Rome has also her university, with an average attendance of 660 students; and the Papal States, with a population of 2½ millions, contain seven universities. Prussia, with a population of 14 millions, has but seven. These are amusing statistical facts —and instructive as well as amusing—when we remember the boasting and glorying carried on a few years back, and even to this day, about the Prussian educational system for the people,

and the establishment of governmental schools, and enforcing by police regulation the school attendance of the children of the lower classes. France sent her philosophers on a pilgrimage to Berlin to study the manifold excellences of the Prussian school machinery, and to engraft them on her own "liberty of the people;" and not a few of the most enlightened, liberal, and benevolent of our own upper classes, sighing over the supposed ignorance and vice of the multitude, wish that our government, even at the expense of a little demoralising constraint and infringement of the natural rights of parents, would take up the trade of teaching, make a monopoly of it as in Prussia, with a state-minister of public instruction to manage it, and enforce by law and regulation the consumpt of a certain quantity in every family, out of the government shops. Our statesmen were wiser than our philanthropists, or rather the common sense, and sense of their civil and moral rights among the people were more powerful than both; and society with us has been wisely left by our legislature to educate itself up to its wants—a point beyond which no school-mastering can drive it with any useful moral or religious result, and up to which, as in all free action for meeting human wants, the demand will produce the supply. The statistical fact, that Rome has above a hundred schools more than Berlin, for a population little more than half of that of Berlin, puts to flight a world of humbug about systems of national education carried on by governments, and their moral effects on society. Is it asked, what is taught to the people of Rome by all these schools?—precisely what is taught at Berlin, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, languages, religious doctrine of some sort, and, above all, the habit of passive submission in the one city to the clerical, in the other to the government authorities. The priesthood and the state functionaries well know that reading and writing are not thinking; that these acquirements, and all the branches of useful knowledge besides, which can enter into the education of the common man in ordinary station, only increase his veneration for, and the social influence of that higher education which the mass of the community has no leisure to apply to, and which always must be confined to a few; to a professional class. The flocks will follow the more readily for being trained, if the leaders only keep ahead of the crowd.

There is an evident reaction in the application of the old maxim, that superstition and despotism must be founded on

ignorance. In Austria, in Prussia, in Italy, it is found that school acquirements and knowledge do not necessarily involve thinking, and still less acting; that, on the contrary, they furnish distraction and excitement to the public mind, and turn it from deeply considering, or deeply feeling, real errors in religion, or practical grievances in civil life. Education is become the art of teaching men not to think. When a government, a priesthood, a corporate body of any kind, gets hold of the education of the people without competition, even in the most minute portion, as in a village school, this is invariably the result of their teaching.

It is not difficult to account for the great number of schools —consequently the great diffusion of those acquirements which are called education—in Rome. The same cause acts in the same way in Edinburgh. There is a great demand for that sort of labour which may be called educated labour, to distinguish it from mechanical labour, but which has as little influence on the moral or mental condition of the individual, as shoemaking, or chipping stones on the highway,—and the demand produces the supply. Church servants of all kinds, from the cardinal down to the singing-boy, must be able to read: and the great amount of living to be found at Rome in the Church, produces the demand for instruction in the qualifications. In Edinburgh, and generally in Scotland, the same demand for educated labour, in the colonies, in mercantile, or legal, or medical professions, and in the Scotch church, produces a similar supply. Those who raise the supply are, in both cities, generally the young men intended for the priesthood; but in Rome the clergy occupy themselves more systematically, and more authoritatively, more in the Prussian style, with the education of the people, than they have legal power to do with us. They hold the reins, and are the superintendents, if not the actual teachers, in all these schools. It is very much owing to the zeal and assiduity of the priesthood in diffusing instruction in the useful branches of knowledge, that the revival and spread of Catholicism have been so considerable among the people of the Continent who were left by the revolution, and the warfare attending it, in that state, that if the Catholic religion had not connected itself with something visibly useful, with material interests, they would have had nothing to do with it. The Catholic clergy adroitly seized on education, and not, as we suppose in Protestant countries, to keep the people in darkness and ignorance, and to inculcate

error and superstition; but to be at the head of the great social influence of useful knowledge; and with the conviction that this knowledge—reading, writing, arithmetic, and all such acquirements—is no more thinking, or an education leading to thinking, and to shaking off the trammels of popish superstition, than playing the fiddle, or painting, or any other acquirement to which mind is applied.

Since the peace of Europe was established in 1815, very important events in church history have taken place, although scarcely noticed by our clergy, occupied too exclusively in the petty politics of their own establishments. The revival of religious feeling in every country of Europe after the war-feeling, after the moral fever, and excitement of the revolutionary period were extinguished, and the embers of the flame trodden out at Waterloo, is one of the most striking characteristics of the times which have succeeded; and the different directions this universal revival of religion has taken in the different churches of Europe, one of the most eventful for future generations. The Continental people had a religion to choose at the end of the last war. How have the two churches of Europe availed themselves of this peculiar state of the European mind? The Protestant church is shaken to the foundation in her ancient seats, Germany and Switzerland, and, as a body politic, has lost, instead of gained influence. The overthrow of the very name and form of Protestantism in Prussia by the late king, and the defection even of the clergy, from her doctrines in Switzerland, Germany, and other Protestant countries, have thrown great moral weight into the scale of the Roman Catholic church. The European people had a religion to choose, and found the Protestant church in its very centre, Germany, in a state of transition, and transformation into the new-shaped thing—the Prussian church; and from the almost total silence of the abject Prussian population, both clergy and flocks, at the change, it was naturally believed that the change was undeniably necessary; and people naturally attached themselves to that church which acknowledges no want of change, and carries with it the moral weight of stability and time-hallowed forms. In the Continental Protestant church, the revival flame of religion has not taken a church direction, but has shown itself in schisms, discord of rites and opinions, the extinction in Prussia of the doctrines and forms of the two great branches of Protestantism, and the adoption, even by the clergy in Germany and Switzerland, of views which would have been

considered formerly in their churches, as deistical, unitarian, socinian. In Britain, also, the Protestant church has got into a false position. The clergy, both in the church of England and in the church of Scotland, have been attempting to unite the two opposite poles—power and popularity—and in their struggle for church power, and church influence, have lost the lead in the religious revival of the age. It is not the church in either country now that sustains, or directs, or even represents the religious sentiments of the people, but the offsets from the clerical body acting independently of the church, and forming an evangelical laity. The scholars have outgrown the teachers; and the teachers, instead of advancing with, and leading the progress of the age, are in danger of becoming superannuated appendages on the religion of the people, sustained by it, not sustaining it; nor capable of directing it in the vast educational and missionary efforts which the religious sentiments of the people are making by their own agents, while their clergy are battling for church wealth, or church power.

The Roman Catholic Church, with its more effective machinery of a priesthood, has held the bridle, and guided the public mind in this great revival of religious feeling in Europe, more cleverly than the Protestant. It has evidently entered more fully into the spirit of the age, has seen more clearly what to give up, and what to retain, in the present intellectual state of the European mind, and has exerted its elasticity to cover with the mantle of Catholicism, opinions wide enough apart to have formed irreconcilable schisms and sects in former ages. Monkish institutions, onerous calls upon the time or purse of the common man, relic-veneration, vows, pilgrimages, auricular confessions, penances, and processional mummery, appear to be silently relaxed, or relinquished, wheresoever the public mind is too advanced for them. The old Catholic clergy and their kind of Catholicism appear to have died out, or to be placed in an inactive state, and young men of new education and spirit to have been formed, and set to work: and these men have taken up their church as they found her, shorn of temporal and political power in almost every country, and of all social influence in a great part of Europe, and even with the means of living reduced to a very scanty pittance in France, and other Catholic lands, and have set to work from this position, without looking back, with the zeal and fervency which perhaps only flourish in poverty. It is so far from being on the ignorance of the people,

this new school of the Catholic priesthood founds the Catholic church, that you hear sermons from them, which might be preached to any Christian congregation. The general doctrines of Christianity are as ably inculcated, as from our own pulpits, and the peculiar or disputable doctrines of the Popish church seem, by some tacit understanding, to be left out of the range of their subjects.. They are not only free from the puerilities of doctrinal points, but also from the affectation so common in the Protestant churches abroad, of preaching only the moral, and not the religious doctrines of the gospel.

Besides this greater efficiency of the machinery of the Romish church, the Catholic religion itself has the apparent unity of belief of all its adherents, in its favour. This unity is apparent only, not real; but it has the same moral effect on the minds of the unreflecting, as if it were real. The Catholic religion adapts itself, in fact, to every degree of intelligence, and to every class of intellect. It is a net which adapts its meshes to the minnow and the whale. The Lazarone on his knees before a child's doll in a glass case, and praying fervently to the bellissima Madonna, is a Catholic, as well as Gibbon, Stolberg, or Schlegel: but his Catholicism is little, if at all, removed from an idolatrous faith in the image before him, which may in its time have represented a Diana of Ephesus, or a Venus. Their Catholicism was the result of the investigation of philosophic minds, and which, however erroneous, could have had nothing in common with that of the ignorant Lazarone. I strolled one Sunday evening in Prussia into the Roman Catholic church at Bonn on the Rhine. The priest was catechising, examining, and instructing the children of the parish, in the same way, and upon the same plan, and with the same care to awaken the intellectual powers of each child by appropriate questions and explanations, as in our well-conducted Sunday schools that are taught on the system of the Edinburgh Sessional School. And what of all subjects was the subject this Catholic priest was explaining and inculcating to Catholic children; and by his familiar questions and their answers, bringing most admirably home to their intelligence?—the total uselessness and inefficacy of mere forms of prayer, or verbal repetitions of prayers, if not understood, and accompanied by mental occupation with the subject, and the preference of silent mental prayer to all forms—and this most beautifully brought out to suit the intelligence of the children. I looked around me to be satisfied that I was really at the altar

steps of a popish church, and not in the school room of Dr. Muir's, or any other well-taught presbyterian parish in Edinburgh. Yet beside me, on her knees before the altar, was an old crone mumbling her Pater Nosters, and keeping tale of them by her beads, and whose mind was evidently intent on accomplishing so many repetitions, without attaching any meaning to the words. Between her Catholicism, and that of the pastor and of the new generation he was teaching, there was certainly a mighty chasm, a distance that in the Protestant church, or in a former age, would have given ample room for half a dozen sects and shades of dissent—a difference as great as between the Puseyite branch of the church of England, and the Roman Catholic church itself. But the mantle of the Catholic faith is elastic, and covers all sorts of differences, and hides all sorts of disunion. Each understands the Catholic religion in his own way, and remains classed as Catholic, without dissent, although, in reality, as widely apart from the old Catholic church, as ever Luther was from the pope. Our Protestant faith sets before all men distinctly one and the same doctrine and belief, the same principles, the same Christian knowledge, ideas, and objects. There is consequently, distinct ground for sectarianism and dissent, in the very nature of the Protestant church. These are also abstract ideas which are set before men, to which every mind must raise itself, and which from the very nature of the human mind, cannot be comprehended so readily, or dwelt upon so long, and so fervently, especially by those untrained to mental exertion, as the material ideas of crucifixes, images, relics, paintings, and ceremonies, with which Catholicism mixes up the same abstract ideas. These material objects act, like Leyden jars in electricity, upon the devotion of Catholics: and every one seems to adjust to his own mental powers and intelligence, the use of this material machinery for quickening his devotion. With some, the invocation of the Virgin Mary and the Saints, is considered but as a necessary logical deduction from the great doctrine of mediation. If the mediation of the Son with the Father, be efficacious, the mediation of the Mother, who must have been the most perfect of created beings as the chosen vessel for our Redeemer's conception, with her Son, who in filial piety and affection as in all other virtue, was perfection, must, according to their not unspecious deduction, be efficacious also. The *ora pro nobis*, the invocations addressed to the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, Saints, and those who were either personal friends and companions of our Saviour

when on earth, or supposed to have been acceptable to him by their lives or sufferings, are founded on this deduction from the principle of mediation, and from the excellency of the virtue of our Saviour. The mediatory nature of these invocations is with others, again, almost entirely lost sight of and forgotten, and it becomes a direct idolatrous worship to those secondary mediators, equal to what we pay to the great Mediator himself: and as these are at best but human beings little removed from our own condition, the mind is able to dwell without exertion or fatigue upon them, their merits, and their works; and is excited to a fervency of devotion, not attainable by the human mind from the contemplation of the sublime abstract truths of our religious belief. Our belief is the working of judgment, theirs of imagination; and this fervency of feeling is, in the construction of our mental system, more nearly allied to, and nourished and excited by imagination, than judgment. In this way we must account for the undeniably greater devotional fervour of Catholics than of Protestants.

The elasticity of the Catholic church adapting itself to every mind, instead of raising every mind up to it, is the great cause of the advance of Catholicism in the present day, among the enlightened, as well as the ignorant classes; and the great cause of the small influence of Catholicism in raising the moral and intellectual condition of mankind, and advancing the civilisation of society. It is a cap that fits every head, for every head can stick it on in some fashion or other. Its most absurd doctrines, as that of the real presence in the elements of the Lord's Supper, is plausibly enough deduced from the plain words of scripture—"This is my body"—not, this is the symbol of my body—and the natural objection of the evidence of our senses contradicting the supposed transubstantiation, is met by the argument of the unceasing divine power to operate a miracle even every day and hour upon every altar, the incompatibility with any rational idea of divine power, of the doctrine that the age of miracles is past, that what the divine power worked at one time it cannot or will not work at another, although the same necessity exists, and the insufficiency of our senses as a test of miracle, the disciples themselves having been blind to the miracle of the loaves and fishes, although seeing and assisting in it. This fits some heads. Others find the consubstantiation of the Lutheran, not at all more intelligible, than the transubstantiation of the Catholic, and acquiesce in the older faith of the two. The ma-

jority believe that which requires no thinking. The French revolution left the minds of men in a rude uneducated state, more adapted to receive the material impressions of the Catholic faith, the ideas suited to a low, neglected, religious, and moral education, than to comprehend and embrace the higher and more abstract truths of Protestantism. The military spirit of a generation, born and bred in wars and revolutions, and accustomed to see all distinction and honour resting not upon moral worth and good principle, but upon success, promotion, and outward decoration, could, when a reaction and revival arose in religious feeling among them, more easily go over into that church in which similar merits and similar emblems are admitted; and supersede mental exertion.

The period of the French revolutionary war, undoubtedly, lowered the tone of moral and religious sentiment in Europe. In the events and present results of that vast movement, so many enterprises were successful, in which all acknowledged moral and religious principles were set aside, and so many agents and participators in iniquitous events, attained, and still to this day retain, all honour and social consideration, although gained in defiance of all moral principles of conduct, that wrong-doing has been kept in countenance, and success has been allowed to legalize, and cover from the judgment of posterity, the most flagitious acts of public historical personages. This is the deepest stain upon the literature of our times. Who in all wide Europe, which of the many historians of the French revolution—Scott, Alison, Carlyle, Thiers—who, who has raised his voice in the cause of moral right and integrity? Who has applied to the test-stone of just moral principle the men and acts he is describing to posterity as great and brilliant examples of human conduct? Who has asked the French generals, marshals, and princes, the living individuals who now revel in the eye of the world as the highest characters of the age, who has asked them, one by one, how did ye amass your immense wealth? Is it honestly come by? Is it the savings of your daily pay and allowances in your professional stations? or is it money gained by secret participation with your own contractors and commissaries, or wrung by forced gifts, requisitions, unmilitary robbery—in a word, from towns, ancient institutions, and innocent suffering individuals? Where got ye your services of gold and silver plate? your collections of Flemish, Italian, and Spanish paintings? Were these not forced, plundered from their lawful

owners, without even the show of purchase? When the great men of the earth arranged and restored at the congress of Vienna, the political and territorial interests of kings and states, why did they not follow out the principle, and restore the moral interests of Europe also? Why did they not make the vultures who were gorged with the pillage of Holland, Germany, Spain, Italy, of every city from Hamburgh to Bern, and from Bern to Cadiz, and to Naples, disgorge individually their unmilitary booty, and restore the property to the countries, towns, institutions, and private persons, from whom it had been extorted contrary to all principles of civilized warfare? They were not eagles, these were but the foul birds of prey which follow the eagle to feed upon the carcass he strikes down in his flight. Political or military profligacy in high station and command, is more ruinous to public morals than private vice, because it sets principle at defiance openly, and not in a corner, and showing the homage to virtue of attempting to hide itself; but braves, in high and conspicuous social positions, the control of morality and public opinion. The congress of Vienna, in restoring something like a balance of power, and a monarchical shape to the Continent, only skinned over the wound inflicted on society—made compensation only to kings, and some royal dynasties, not to the people; restored nothing of what is of more importance than forms of government,—nothing of the moral principle which had been pushed out of its proper place and influence in society, by the impunity, unmerited honours, and impudent assumption of dignity, permitted to the most shameless rapine that ever disgraced the history of civilized people. M. Thiers, the late minister of France, is now in Germany, writing history, fortunately for mankind, instead of making history on the banks of the Rhine. He is visiting all the cities and localities of Germany, which were the theatres of important events and memorable exploits, to collect, it is said, materials for a great historical work from the commencement of the French revolution. Has M. Thiers the moral courage to write such a history as history in this age ought to be written? Will he bring to the unerring test-stone of moral principle, every act, every character, every man he is dealing with as an historian? Will he unmask and denounce to posterity, the unprincipled adventurers, pillagers, and marauders, whom accident, good fortune, military talent, and the bravery of their troops, threw up into high and conspicuous stations, and who are figuring to this day in the eye of the world,

the first of men? Will he restore the moral tone to society which has been lost in France, by the unmerited success and splendour of such men? Or will he only give the world a classical work—a fine imitation of the ancient historians, brilliant descriptions of marches, battles, intrigues, causes and results of events, fine spun, imaginary, eloquent, modelled upon the manner and style of Thucydides or Tacitus—a work of talent, but not of historical philosophic truth, a work which every body will praise, few will read, and nobody believe, or be the better for; a work, in short, of leading articles in which every victory is unparalleled, every successful general a hero, and glory a cloak for the most infamous deeds and characters? The road is open to M. Thiers, and Germany is the country which contains much of the materials, to produce the most influential and truly philosophical history of an eventful period, which the moralist, or the historian teaching morality by example, ever had before him. Will M. Thiers have the moral courage to take this road?

The results at some future period of the singular moral and religious state of the European mind which has followed the revolutionary paroxysm of the beginning of this century, baffle conjecture. The Protestant religion existing, it may almost be said, only in detached corners of the world, and there torn into a hundred sects and divisions, and the clergy of her two branches occupied in unseemly squabbles for power and property, and not leading, nor, in public estimation, capable of leading, the religious revival among Protestant Christians, nor of meeting and refuting the learning and theological scholarship of professed infidel writers—the popish church advancing stealthily, but steadily, step by step, with a well-organised, well-educated, zealous, and wily priesthood at the head of, and guiding the religious revival in her domain of Christianity, and adapting herself to the state of the public mind, and the degree of social and intellectual development in every country, from the despotism of Naples to the democracy of New York—the moral tone of society, the power of moral and religious principle over conduct, the weight and value of right or wrong in public estimation deranged, the influence of public opinion on the moral conduct of public men lowered, by the countenance given by governments to individuals who should be branded in the history of this age as unprincipled depredators setting all moral and international law at defiance in their military and political acts—these are

elements in the religious, moral, and political condition of European society, which, together with the change in its social economy by the new distribution of property, must make every thinking man feel that the French revolution, as a vast social movement, is but in its commencement. We are but living in a pause between its acts.

CHAP. XVIII.

THE OLIVE TREE—ITS EFFECTS IN SOCIAL ECONOMY.—MAIZE.—POTATOES.—FLORENCE.—DIVISION OF LAND IN TUSCANY.—STATE OF THE PEOPLE.—STATE OF THE CONTINENTAL AND ENGLISH PEOPLE COMPARED.

THE inhabitants of the gloomy little towns in the Papal states, Civita-Castellana, Otricoli, Narni, Terni, their squalid nothing-to-do appearance as they saunter in listless idleness about their doors, a prey to ague and ennui, are sadly in contrast to their bright sunny land, and its glorious vegetation. Their country produces every thing—every thing but industry; and man flourishes as a moral intelligent being only where industry is forced upon him—and civilization and well-being with industry—by natural circumstances—by the want, not the abundance of natural products. Truly the plenty of their country is their curse. Suppose every kail-yard in Scotland had a tree growing at the dyke-side, like the old pollard saughs we usually see there, and requiring as little care or cultivation, and that from this tree the family gathered its butter, suet, tallow, or an oil that answered perfectly all the household uses of these substances, either as a nutritious adjunct to daily food in their cookery, or for soap, or for giving light to their dwelling—all, in short, that our grasslands and dairies, our Russia trade, our Greenland fisheries, produce to us for household uses—would it be no blessing to have such trees? Such trees are the gift of nature to the people here in the south, and are bestowed with no niggard hand. The olive-tree flourishes on the poorest, scarpy soil, on gravelly, rocky land that would not keep a sheep on ten acres of it, and a single olive-tree will sometimes yield from a single crop nearly fifty gallons of oil. Is this a curse, and not a blessing? Look at the people of all olive-growing countries—and the question is answered. The very productiveness of nature in the objects of industry, naturally stifles industry. The countries which produce industry, are in a more civilized and moral condition, than the countries which produce the objects of industry. The Italian governments—the Neapolitan, the Papal, the Austrian, the Sardinian—are, perhaps unjustly, blamed for the squalor,

idleness, and wretchedness of the Italian people. No government can give incitement to industry in commerce, agriculture, or manufactures, where soil and climate produce, without any great or continuous exertion of man, almost all that industry labours for. The people of Italy, and of all the south of Europe, probably, never can be raised to so high a social state as the people of the north of Europe, if the measure of a high social state be the diffusion of industry and all its moral influences, and of the useful arts and all their gratifications—nor the people of the north raised to that of the Italian people, if the general taste for, and cultivation of the fine arts, be the measure of the social condition and civilization of mankind.

The olive-tree is but one of the many fruits of the earth which supply the natural wants of man here without any incessant demand upon his toil, and which lap him in an indolent contentment with a low social condition. The maize, or Indian corn, is, both physically and morally, the equivalent among the populations of the south, to the potato among those of the north. It is curious that both these additions to the subsistence of man became generally cultivated about the same period, both being of unknown or unnoticed origin, and the one, as if in compensation, flourishing best, where the other succeeds but imperfectly. Maize is almost limited to the climate of the vine. Potatoes, indeed, succeed, although less perfectly both as to quality and quantity, within the climate of the maize and vine, but practically enter little into the supply of food in those countries in which maize succeeds. The first introduction of both these plants is involved in some obscurity. The potato is usually stated to have been brought home by Sir Walter Raleigh from America, in the reign of James; but we have, in the Merry Wives of Windsor, the weighty evidence of Sir John Falstaff himself against this opinion. "Let the sky rain potatoes."—The potato must have been commonly known to pit, boxes, and galleries in Queen Elizabeth's time, to have admitted of such a familiar allusion to it. The maize, from its French name probably, *blé de Turquie*, is supposed by some to have come to Europe from the East—to have been the fruit of the crusades, and the principal fruit now remaining of those expeditions. When we consider the vast populations now subsisting principally on maize, the potato itself will be found to yield in importance to it. The amount of subsistence from a small space of land is great, and where the vine is cultivated, the maize is often

cultivated between the rows of vines as a kind of secondary crop. The cultivation of maize acts upon the amount and condition of the population—on their numbers and habits, precisely as that of potatoes. The moral results have been the same from both. Where the land is not the property of the cultivators, but of a nobility, as in the Sardinian, Neapolitan, and Papal states, the cheap and inferior, but plentiful food in proportion to the land and labour bestowed on its production, has brought into existence a great population miserably ill off. The difference of value between their inferior food of maize, and the value of other kinds of food, has only gone into the pockets of their landowners, and their employers. Their condition has been deteriorated by a cheaper food increasing the quantity, and thereby reducing the value of labour to a rate equivalent to a subsistence upon an inferior and cheaper diet. Where the land, again, is the property of the labourers themselves, as in Switzerland, in Tuscany, in France, the cheaper and inferior food leaves them more of a superior, higher priced food for market, or more land to produce marketable provisions from; and what they save in their diet goes into their purse. Thus the very same cause, this cheap article of diet, produces thrifty, active, industrious habits among the Swiss, Tuscan, and French peasants, and lazy, trifling, lazaroni habits among the labourers of the Neapolitan, Papal, and Sardinian states. It is the possession of property that regulates the standard of living in a country, as in a single household, and fixes the general ideas and habits, with regard to the necessary, or suitable, in diet, lodging, and clothing: and this standard regulates the wages of labour. People who have at home some kind of property to apply their labour to, will not sell their labour for wages that do not afford them a better diet than potatoes or maize, although in saving for themselves, they may live very much on potatoes and maize. We are often surprised in travelling on the Continent, to hear of a rate of day's wages very high considering the abundance and cheapness of food. It is want of the necessity or inclination to take work that makes labour scarce, and considering the price of provisions, dear in many parts of the Continent, where property in land is widely diffused among the people.

Italy is a country of contrasts, of finery and rags tacked together; but none of its contrasts strike the political economist so much as the difference between Florence and Rome. All around Rome, and even within its walls, reigns a funereal si-

lence. The neighbourhood is a silent desert, no stir or sign of men, no bustle at the gates tell of a populous city. But without, within, and around the gates of Florence, you hear on all sides the busy hum of men. The suburbs of small houses, the cluster of good, clean tradesmen-like habitations, extend a mile or two. Shops, wine houses, market carts, country people, smart peasant girls, gardeners, weavers, wheelwrights, hucksters, in short, all the ordinary suburban trades, and occupations which usually locate themselves in the outskirts of thriving cities, are in full movement here. The labouring class in Florence are well lodged, and from the number and contents of the provision stalls in the obscure third-rate streets, the number of butchers' shops, grocers' shops, eating-houses, and coffee-houses for the middle and lower classes, the traveller must conclude that they are generally well fed and at their ease. The labourer is whistling at his work, the weaver singing over his loom. The number of bookstalls, small circulating libraries, and the free access of all classes to the magnificent galleries of paintings and statues, even to the collection in the Pitti palace itself, and the frequent use made by the lower class of this free access to the highest works of art, show that intellectual enjoyments connected with taste in the fine arts—the only intellectual enjoyments open to, or generally cultivated by those classes on the Continent who do not belong to the learned professions, and are, by the nature of their government, debarred from political or religious investigation and discussion—are widely diffused and generally cultivated. No town on the Continent shows so much of this kind of intellectuality, or so much well-being and good conduct among the people. It happened that the 9th of May was kept here as a great holiday by the lower class, as May-day with us, and they assembled in a kind of park about a mile from the city, where booths, tents, and carts with wine and eatables for sale, were in crowds and clusters, as at our village wakes and race courses. The multitude from town and country round could not be less than 20,000 people grouped in small parties, dancing, singing, talking, dining on the grass, and enjoying themselves. I did not see a single instance of inebriety, ill temper, or unruly boisterous conduct; yet the people were gay and joyous. There was no police, except at the crossings of the alleys in the park, a mounted dragoon to make the innumerable carts, horses, and carriages of all kinds and classes keep their files, and their own sides of the roads. The scene

gave a favourable impression of the state of the lower classes in Tuscany.

But why should the physical and moral condition of this population be so superior to that of the Neapolitans, or of the neighbouring people in the Papal states? The soil and climate and productions are the same in all these countries. The difference must be accounted for by the happier distribution of the land in Tuscany. In 1836, Tuscany contained 1,436,785 inhabitants, and 130,190 landed estates. Deducting 7,901 estates belonging to towns, churches, or other corporate bodies, we have 122,289 belonging to the people—or, in other words, 48 families in every 100 have land of their own to live from. Can the striking difference in the physical and moral condition, and in the standard of living, between the people of Tuscany and those of the Papal states be ascribed to any other cause? The taxes are as heavy in Tuscany as in the dominions of the Pope; about 12s. 6d. sterling per head of the population in the one, and 12s. 10d. in the other. But in the whole Maremma of Rome, of about 30 leagues in length by 10 or 12 in breadth, Mons. Chateauvieux reckons only 24 factors, or tenants of the large estates of the Roman nobles. From the frontier of the Neapolitan to that of the Tuscan state, the whole country is reckoned to be divided in about 600 landed estates. Compare the husbandry of Tuscany, the perfect system of drainage, for instance, in the strath of Arno by drains between every two beds of land, all connected with a main drain—being our own lately introduced furrow tile-draining, but connected here with the irrigation as well as the draining of the land,—compare the clean state of the growing crops, the variety and succession of green crops for foddering cattle in the house all the year round, the attention to collecting manure, the garden-like cultivation of the whole face of the country, compare these with the desert waste of the Roman Maremma, or with the papal country of soil and productiveness as good as that of the vale of the Arno, the country about Foligno and Perugia, compare the well-clothed, busy people, the smart country girls at work about their cows' food, or their silkworm leaves, with the ragged, sallow, indolent population lounging about their doors in the papal dominions, starving, and with nothing to do on the great estates; nay, compare the agricultural industry and operations in this land of small farms, with the best of our large-farm districts, with Tweedside, or East Lothian—and snap your fingers at the wisdom of our

Sir Johns, and all the host of our book-makers on agriculture, who bleat after each other that solemn saw of the thriving-tenantry-times of the war—that small farms are incompatible with a high and perfect state of cultivation. Scotland, or England, can produce no one tract of land to be compared to this strath of the Arno, not to say for productiveness, because that depends upon soil and climate, which we have not of similar quality to compare, but for industry and intelligence applied to husbandry, for perfect drainage, for irrigation, for garden-like culture, for clean state of crops, for absence of all waste of land, labour, or manure, for good cultivation, in short, and the good condition of the labouring cultivator. These are points which admit of being compared between one farm and another, in the most distinct soils and climates. Our system of large farms will gain nothing in such a comparison with the husbandry of Tuscany, Flanders, or Switzerland, under a system of small farms.

Next to the distribution of property, the comparative well-being of the lower class in Tuscany must be ascribed to the government. The ducal family, for some generations, have ruled as a liberal, paternal autocracy. The people have had no representation in the legislature in a constitutional shape; but they have been ably represented by their grand dukes themselves. The public measures of these wise, good, and truly great sovereigns, have been of a more decidedly liberal character, than any representative legislature in Italy—taking into account the ignorance of the representatives, the influence of the priesthood, and the jealousy of Austria of any shadow of constitutional power vested in the Italian people—could have ventured upon. The feudal privileges of the nobles, the municipal or corporation privileges which shackle the freedom of industry and trade, the restraints on civil liberty which in other parts of Europe keep the working producing classes in a state of thraldom to the government and its functionaries, have been long mitigated or abolished in Tuscany, by the liberal sovereigns who, by rare good fortune, have ruled in succession for three generations, on the same enlightened and beneficent principles. But stability of good laws and good government, depending upon the personal character of one man is a stake of fearful magnitude, when the well-being of a whole people depends upon it. One ill educated, ill advised successor, may undo, and is undoing, under the present ruler, all the good his predecessors have planned or accomplished. Capital, commerce, manufacturing industry, the great agencies in the movement of

modern society, will not trust themselves freely upon so unstable a foundation. This will ever be the impediment to any considerable progress of Prussia, Austria, Tuscany, and all the paternally governed but autocratic states, in the development of the industry of their people. The prosperity, national wealth, and public spirit they aim at, are inseparable from free institutions, and legislative power lodged with the people themselves, and independent of the life or will of an individual. It would be a great misfortune to civilized Europe, if Prussia, with an autocratic government in which the public has no legal influence over the executive and its functionaries, were to attain any considerable manufacturing and commercial prosperity among nations. But this prosperity is so linked with that public confidence which can exist only in states in which the people have constitutional checks by their own representatives upon the acts of the government, that such a prosperity is unattainable by such a state as Prussia.

CHAPTER XIX.

FLORENCE TO BOLOGNA.—NOTES ON VENICE.

THE road from Florence to Bologna, about 25 leagues, crosses the Appenines, and from some points, the sea on either side the peninsula may be descried. The mountain scenery of the Appenine chain, is by no means grand, picturesque, or beautiful. The elevation of the hills is so considerable, that patches of snow remain unmelted a great part of the summer; but they are covered with a thick bed of clay soil in general, and the breaks made by torrents, in beds of clay, the ravines, glens, and valleys of a yellow clay country, are seldom picturesque. In Italy altogether, the tracts of country with fine natural scenery are rare. The towns, the works of art, the association of ideas with ancient history, and the luxuriant vegetation, and delicious climate, are the charms of Italy. The inhabitants near to Bologna do not partake of the wretchedness and indolence of the subjects of the papal states on the other side of the Appenines. They are evidently in a better condition. The land is more divided among the people in the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, Forli, than in the old, original territory of the papal state, in which the Roman pontiffs, and the princely families derived from them, are the landowners. The people, also, had some constitutional rights in former times.

The city of Bologna is remarkable from having an arched colonnade over the foot pavements on each side of the streets, a feature we are not accustomed to in northern towns. One walks under cover, but the effect is very gloomy. The climate must be rainy on this side of the Appenines, as all the cities have some of the principal of their old streets covered in on each side. Ferrara is a poor, deserted city of some 30,000 inhabitants dwelling in a town built for 100,000. Side streets vacant, houses out of repair, weather stained, and a world too large for their present occupants, grass-grown courts, ragged old people; this is the picture of these ancient Italian cities. Padua is but a little more lively, with its university attended by 400 to 450 students.

Venice, "the city risen from the sea," is the point to which the traveller hastens. It is perhaps the only city in the world which does not disappoint his expectations. It is, indeed, a dream-like creation upon the waters. Gondolas meet you at Fusina or Mestre, where you leave the carriage, to ferry you across to Venice, a distance of about four miles over a shallow lagune, in which the water-road is marked out by large piles. The gondola is a wherry, not so neatly built as the Thames wherry, with the upper half of a mourning hackney-coach, such as our undertakers send out in the rear of a burial train, stuck midships. In this the passengers sit, or recline on cushions, and may shut themselves up as in a coach with the glass-windows or the blinds. Two fellows at opposite ends and sides of the boat, stand shoving the oars from them, and paddle along pretty quickly, avoiding the running foul of the other gondolas with great dexterity, it is said, but, in truth, there has been no great danger of running foul of others in the most frequented canals of Venice, in this nineteenth century. In turning corners they might possibly bump against each other, and they give a short cry, to warn those coming down the water street to keep to the right or left. The gondolier has nothing of the seaman about him, and out of his own ditches, would, I suspect, be found a sorry boatman, for the boat-part of his conveyance is not so neat, nor so well kept as the coach part. Venice is not without her streets. There is access by land to every house in Venice. Thousands of little alleys, like Cranbourne Alley in London, but not so wide, and bridges innumerable, make the landways not even very circuitous, and the great mass of the population go about their daily business as in other towns, through the streets. The gondolas are but the equivalents of the hackney-coaches of other cities. I question if a greater proportion of the 100,000 people living in the Tower Hamlets, Ratcliffe, Poplar, and on either side of the Thames in that district, be not upon the water in any given minute of the day, than of this 100,000 people. The lower classes, and even the gondoliers, have by no means the air of a seafaring or even of an aquatic population. Our London boatmen, even those who ply above bridge, have all something jack-tarrish about them. You would never mistake the man who lives by his boat among us, for a terrestrial biped. Here, even about the dock-yard, or in the boats of the guardship, a frigate, you do not see a man in gait and appearance like a seaman. But for the anchor in their caps, the men of their ship-of-war might be taken

for dismounted dragoons, as readily as for seamen. This want of characteristic appearance of any class of men among the populations of the south of Europe is remarkable. In northern countries, the soldier, the sailor, the husbandman, the tailor, the smith, the shoemaker, the mechanic, the gentleman, have each class something about them not to be mistaken, dress them as you will, an appearance, a something peculiar to their craft or class. It is expressed, or expected, even in all paintings of the Dutch or English school. But in Italian life or pictures, nothing of this peculiar characteristic appearance of a class is to be found. It is by his appendages of dress only you distinguish the soldier from the priest. It is probable, therefore, this characteristic something in the appearance does not exist in such intensity among southern populations. What is this something? I take it to be expression of mind strongly applied to one single object or train of objects, affecting in time, the deportment, the language, the way of thinking, the manners, the very gait, face, and air of the individual, and making him brother-like to all others of the same occupation. In the countries in which less industry is required to obtain a living, the mind, the will, and even the muscles and positions of the body, are less constantly and intensely applied and exercised in the one way peculiar to the craft or profession by which the individual gains his living, and obtain no such preponderance over the ordinary appearance common to all.

The canals of Venice are very clean for canals, but still they are canals, smelling now and then of bilge water. There is a rise and fall of tide here of about three feet, but no current. It is singular that here at the head of the Adriatic, there should be a visible ebb and flood, and none on the shores of the Mediterranean itself. A long island or bar of sand, called the Lido, runs across the head of this narrow sea, about three miles below Venice, leaving a passage between each end of it and the main land. The sea runs in by these passages or mouths, forming a lagoon behind this island of considerable extent, but very shallow (not above 18 feet in the deepest of the navigable channels), so that the difference between ebb and flood, not perceptible on the shores of the wide and deep Mediterranean (which in general is very deep all round, and close to the Italian shores), is shown here by laying dry, or covering the mud banks in this shallow lagoon. Venice is built upon the little islets in this little sea, covering them so entirely with her buildings, that she may be

truly described as a city springing from the waters. No natural land is to be seen—all is water or wall. It is possible that some individuals here may be strangers to the ordinary appearances of animal and vegetable life in the country, may never have seen growing corn, nor heard the lark singing, and know not what the country means.

Whoever regrets the decay of Venice, the extinction of her independence as a state, regrets the advance of society from barbarism to civilisation. The Republic of Venice was a huge compound of all the evil principles of a social condition collected together under an oligarchy. Despotism, intolerance, mutual distrust among those wielding the power, disregard of the people, cruelty, secrecy, terrorism, all the extreme evils of bad government, were united here. It has passed away, and even the relics of its former greatness are rapidly decaying—the palaces, quays, bridges. In some future age, the traveller may be inquiring, Where stood Venice? The port of this queen of the seas has at present in it two foreign brigs, a government guard-ship, and some small craft. The appearance of Venice is probably more novel and impressive now in her decay, than in her best days. When her port was crowded with vessels, her canals with lighters conveying goods, her quays with merchandise, she may have been very like some parts of Amsterdam, or other great commercial cities penetrated by canals. In her present state, she is unique, because it is not the movement of a seaport or commercial town upon her waters, but the ordinary communications of her own inhabitants with each other. Shipping and trade are not seen in it. The coasting trade of Venice, however, in small craft, is not inconsiderable. The very supply of 115,000 people, a strong garrison, a naval dépot, and a host of public functionaries employed in the civil government of the district, with every article, even to the fresh water they use, must employ many market boats and small craft. Foreign trade at all times has only been forced into this channel; and its present course, by which consumers in this part of Europe receive their supplies through Trieste, a port nearer to them and to the producers, with more convenience and saving of time for shipping, is undoubtedly more natural and advantageous. We see with regret the decay of ancient power and magnificence; but where these were founded on monopoly and oppression, and when we see the supplies of the necessaries and comforts of life better, cheaper, and more widely diffused through society by the downfal of this grandeur and power, we may dry

our eyes, and be consoled. The extinction of the independence of Venice, and the transfer of her territory to Austria, however iniquitous in principle and execution, has been of advantage to the inhabitants of the old Venetian states. A government strong like the Austrian, can afford to be impartial, favours no one class in systematic, uncontrolled oppression; and where one ruling class had uncontrolled power, as the nobility had in the old Venetian state, raises in reality the condition of the other classes, by depressing this formerly dominant class, subjecting all to equal and known law, and giving security and protection to every man against petty authority. Abuses from power lodged in the hands of incompetent, arrogant, or stupid, but still responsible functionaries, are more tolerable and curable, than those of a powerful irresponsible class of nobility without a king.

It strikes the traveller, that here, among the insulated population of a decaying city, he sees no mendicity, and very little extreme poverty; while Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, and all the other towns he passes through (Florence alone excepted), are full of beggars, or beggarly people, ill clothed, apparently ill fed, and idle. What may be the cause of this striking difference in Venice? Mendicity is less common, because it is less of a trade here, the classes who have any thing to give going generally by water, so that there are few street-stations in which a mendicant could place himself with a certainty of finding passengers who could relieve him. But poverty and idleness are less prevalent also, because the position of this insulated population creates a check upon their increasing beyond the means of subsistence. There can be no marrying here among the lower class upon the vague hope of finding a living some how. A some-how living is out of all question here, even in hope, because land-work, garden-work, horse-work, and the millions of ramifications of labour connected with these found in other cities, are by nature cut off from Venice. There are no odd jobs, no new ways of living, no new demands for labour, beyond a fixed, well-ascertained quantity, required by this seagirt population: and whoever cannot enter into the band of gondoliers, tradesmen, artificers, or other labouring men, and succeed to a portion of this labour, can entertain no delusive hope of finding a living in any unknown, unexpected way. He sees clearly that he is but a supernumerary hand on board the good ship Venice, and must wait until a vacancy falls, and he gets into it, before he can get employment, and pay, to keep a family upon. The eye of the most ignorant of the

working class can take in the whole field of labour in this simple state, with no manufactures, no foreign trade, and no agriculture, and can see that there is no room for him to marry. Venice is a striking example of the economical preventive check upon over-population; and not working from any superior prudence or intelligence of the lower class, but from the greater simplicity of the social relations in which they live, enabling the most thoughtless to see and calculate upon his means of subsistence. It proves, too, that the check upon over-population is to be found in the intelligence and education of the working class, in raising their habits and wants to those gratifications which property only can indulge in, and in raising their mental power to the understanding, and acting upon those considerations which are the same in the most complicated forms of society as in the simple form in Venice, although not so obvious to the common man of uneducated mind.

One evening there was a grand illumination in one of the parishes in the centre of Venice in honour of the pastor, who had completed the fiftieth year of his service in the parish church. It was, like every thing in Venice, with a touch of the Eastern style. Carpets, or silk cloths of brilliant colours, were hung out from every window, and across the streets. Every shop had its grandest and most costly goods piled up outside, and in the doors and windows. Crystal chandeliers, those used in drawing-rooms, with lighted wax candles, were suspended on gaily painted rods across, between the houses, so as to hang over the centre of the narrow flag-paved alleys of the town; and in these, the throng of well-dressed people of the middle and lower classes was immense. There was no pushing, or elbowing, or rudeness in the dense mass, although crowded beyond any fashionable London squeeze. A military band of an Hungarian regiment played opposite the parish church. We took a gondola up the grand canal, and landed at the Rialto, from whence our gondolier piloted us through dark lanes, so narrow that two persons could scarcely pass each other, until we reached the centre of the show, where the band was playing, dressed in their Hungarian costume. The scene was splendid. The narrow streets lined, and canopied with gay coloured cloths, and silks, and glittering goods; the wax lights, the glass chandeliers, and the well-dressed crowd, appeared a scene from the Arabian Nights' Entertainments realised. In all this bustle, I did not see, even in the fishmarket at the Rialto, a single instance of intoxication—people were not

drinking, although all were singing, talking, and enjoying themselves—nor a single instance even among the boys, of jostling, pushing, running, or rudeness, nor a single person whom I could suppose to be a policeman. The ordinary corporal's guard, at a public building near the church, was the only authority I saw of any kind. I doubt if the Austrian government be unpopular with the common people here.

The Venetian taste seems Eastern. The old buildings, like St. Mark's, are not Grecian, not Gothic, but Saracenic, in a style copied probably from Constantinople. The taste in dress is also peculiar. They prefer strongly contrasted, vivid colours. This is also the taste in the Venetian school of painting. The very climate and situation of Venice naturally produce great contrasts, great masses of brilliant light and deep shade. The most impressive scenery in Venice is in passing by night in a gondola, through the silent, narrow canals, where you plunge into the shadows, black as midnight, of buildings rising from the water on each side; and all is pitchy darkness, except a small space of sky overhead, or a light glimmering in an upper-story window, and you emerge suddenly, by a turn of the canal, into a brilliant flood of moonlight, glittering and dancing on waters and buildings as far as eye can reach. In general, however, I prefer the land paths in Venice to the solitary dignity of being paddled about in a gondola. I like to rub shoulders with the people—to hear the merry laugh in the market-place.

The style of building in the old houses on the canals is peculiar. Small, beautifully carved pillars, with windows between, and arches joining them with much open work and ornament, run in belts round the buildings; and the main story has projecting balconies and covered colonnades hanging over the canals. These balconies and stone verandas of this Eastern or Saracenic style of architecture, must have been costly, from the fine cutting of pillars and fret-work; and now, many of these ancient mansions or palaces are uninhabited, or tenanted in part by the labouring people, whose shirts and stockings are hanging out to dry, over balustrades which once half concealed the silk-robed ladies of high degree, who sat listening behind them in the twilight, to well-known strains of music from the swift passing gondola which dared not linger. Sic transit gloria mundi. Our gondolier pointed out to us his habitation on the grand canal, and at his signal-whistle, his little ones ran out on the balcony of the first floor, to see their father go past on the water; hap-

pier, perhaps, that he was earning eighteen-pence, than ever were the progeny of the Venetian noble who built the palace, in all their magnificence. His rent, he told us, was three dollars a month for five rooms and a cellar; but it was dear in consequence of the convenience of the situation. In remote canals, a zwanziger, two-thirds of a franc, per week, is the ordinary rent for labouring people. Their fuel for a year will cost sixty zwanziger. The hire of a gondola for a day is six zwanziger. There is honour among these gondoliers; for although needy and clamorous for fares, and we had no fixed engagement with our man, yet if he was out of the way, they would call him to come to his usual customers, and took no advantage of his absence. There are in Venice about 200 gondolas plying for hire. The buildings in Venice are not in general so lofty as in Genoa, and other Italian cities. St. Mark's is a low structure, so is the palace of the doge, and the adjoining old prison connected with it by a covered bridge—the bridge of sighs—from the upper story of the one building to that of the other. These are all low structures, that is, the proportion of the height to the extent of front, is not greater than in Grecian architecture, and, therefore, they are not to be classed with the Gothic. Venice probably borrowed her style of building from Constantinople, when she was mistress of the East. Some of the old mansions in the secondary canals are very interesting, from the peculiar style of architecture and ornamen

It is the predominating characteristic, and distinctive principle of Gothic architecture to seek its effects by extensions in the height; and that of Grecian architecture, on the contrary, to seek its effects by extensions parallel to the horizon. These two distinct principles will be found to govern all the details, as well as the general masses, of each of these two distinct styles of architecture—the arches, gates, windows, fronts, interiors—to run through all their parts, and to govern the whole ideal of the structure in every pure and complete specimen of either style.

CHAPTER XX.

THE BRENTA.—ITALIAN TOWNS.—WAY OF LIVING OF THE LOWER CLASSES.—DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ITALIAN AND ENGLISH POPULATIONS.—CAUSES OF THE DIFFERENCE.—REPRODUCTIVE AND UNREPRODUCTIVE EXPENDITURE.

WE set off with regret from Venice—a city fascinating even in her decay and crossed again to Fusina, the nearest custom-house on terra firma, at a very early hour. In this delightful climate, the morning air is not damp, raw, and uncomfortable; but is agreeable to the feelings. The air, even in Venice, is so opposed to dampness, that scarcely any slime or green moss grows on the walls at the surface of the water, on the stone steps of the doors upon the canals, or even upon the wooden piles in the sea. It was ebb-tide, and these were uncovered lower than usual; and we passed even extensive banks of sand or gravel, laid dry at low water—such islands as Venice itself is built on. Venice being a free port in which goods are landed free of custom-house duty, the traveller's luggage has to undergo the same kind of search at Fusina as if it were landed from a foreign ship. We found the officers not more troublesome than in any of our own custom-houses. From Fusina to Padua you travel in the course of a forenoon along the Brenta, a muddy river enclosed by artificial dykes, and the level of its bed raised considerably above that of the land on each side. This river, and the Po, run upon the country, rather than through it; for the channel of the water is raised by the deposit of ages, and the embankments on each side, high above the land. The delightful villas on the banks of the Brenta are like Dutch country houses, adorned with leaden statues of nymphs, satyrs, neptunes, shepherdesses, rows of tubs and jars holding orange trees and shrubs, a parterre gay with ordinary flowers, and hid behind a mud-bank raised on each side of the bed of the yellow thick river, for retaining it in its channel. Of delightful villas in this taste the traveller will find a much more delightful assortment on the banks of the canal from Amsterdam to Utrecht. Some poet celebrates "the song of the nightingale on the banks of the Brenta;" but the croaking in the ditch drowns the melody of the bush.

From Padua, the traveller passes through Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, on his way to Milan, these are all large towns; shrunk, indeed, from their original girth of wall; but still towns of from 30,000 to 60,000 inhabitants, situated at short distances from each other, and with no particular manufacture or branch of industry established in them. How do these city masses of population live? The country is fertile. Its products are amongst the most valuable of the earth, corn, rice, wine, oil, silk, fruits. The rents of the land, whether paid in money or in portions of the products of the soil, are spent in the cities, and also all the public revenues, if we look at the country we see what supports the towns, the people are in poverty in the country, notwithstanding the fertility of the soil. It is impressive to see those who raise silk—the most costly material of human clothing—going about their work barefoot, and in rags. The inhabitants of Lombardy, and the other Austrian possessions in Italy, are far from being in so good a condition as the people of Tuscany; but are in a much better condition than the people of the Papal and Neapolitan States. The houses are good, although scantily furnished, and displaying no such quantity of plenishing as in the dwellings of the Swiss or French peasantry—no stocks of bedding, household linen, earthenware, pewter, copper, and iron utensils.

The homeless out-of-door way of living of the labouring class all over Italy is a cause as well as an effect of poverty. It blunts the feeling for domestic comfort, which is a powerful stimulus to steady industry. People of the working class here, breakfast out; that is, take a cup of coffee, or something equivalent, at a stall or coffee-room. It is only in large towns with us, that the workman or labourer does not take his meals at home, or from his home; and the traveller is surprised to see trattoria and coffee rooms in Italy, not merely in towns, but in lonely country situations where there are only a few houses of the labouring people. This is not an indication, as it would be considered with us, that the people of the neighbourhood are well off, and have something to spend in such gratifications as public places of resort for their class afford; but it is an indication of their poverty. Those who with us would have their own little housekeepings and cooking, have not the means, nor perhaps the taste for such domestic comfort, and take their victuals at the trattoria, or cook-shop. The number of such places of entertainment for the lower class in little villages and hamlets which

could support no such trade in our country, puzzles the traveller at first, because this apparent surplus of expenditure is inconsistent with the visible poverty of the inhabitants. But it is in reality the economy of poverty, not the expenditure of surplus means of gratification, which supports these places. It is a more economical way of living in this climate, in which firing is little required for comfort, than if each family of the labouring class had a housekeeping for itself. But the domestic habits and virtues suffer under this homeless, thoughtless, careless way of living, and the time saved by it is not employed. The women are sauntering about all day on the gossip, with their distaff and spindle, the men, according to the weather, basking in the sun, or slumbering in the shade.

The effects of climate, soil, fertility, and other natural circumstances of a country, upon the habits, morals, and civilisation of the people, would be a curious subject of speculation, and one which would explain many apparent difficulties in accounting for the very different progress of different nations. The difference, for example, in the condition and civilisation of the Italian and British people is very remarkable, and may be traced to natural causes of climate, soil, and situation. The climate and soil of Italy, are incomparably more productive than those of Great Britain. The population of the two countries is about equal—the island of Great Britain in 1831, having 16,262,301 inhabitants, and the peninsula of Italy 15,549,393. Both countries are inhabited in much the same way, that is, in a great number of very large cities and towns, as well as in hamlets and single rural habitations. But the Italian population is unquestionably far behind the British in the enjoyments of civilised life, in the useful arts, in civil and political liberty, in wealth, intelligence, industry, and in their moral condition. To what can this difference be ascribed? Italy was far advanced—as far in many points as she is at this day—before England had started in the course of civilisation; and when Scotland* was in a state of gross barbarism. The

* "Quid loquar," says Saint Jerome in his epistles, "de cæteris nationibus, quum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Scotos, gentem Britannicam, humanis vesci carnibus, et quum per silvas porcorum greges pecudumque reperiant, tamen pastorum nates et fœminarum papillas, solere abscindere, et has solas ciborum delicias arbitrari!" Evidence may sometimes prove too much as well as too little for establishing facts. What St. Jerome says he himself saw, is either entitled to credit, or not entitled to credit. If not, what becomes of the history of the first ages of the church as gathered from such authority as this father's? The addition to what he states he him-

Englishman ascribes this to the want of constitutional government; the Scotchman to the want of pure religious doctrine. The government and religion of a foreign country are two very convenient pack-horses for the traveller. They trot along the road with him, carrying all that he cannot otherwise conveniently dispose of, and the prejudices of his readers prevent any doubt of the burthen being laid upon the right beast. But, in reality, no government of the present day, whatever be its form, is so ignorant of sound principle, so blind to its own interests, and so impregnable to public opinion, as wilfully to keep back, discourage, or attempt to put down industry and civilisation. It is in the means they use, not in the end they propose, that modern governments, whether despotic or liberally constituted, differ from each other; and for many objects, even the means of the despotically governed states are, in themselves, better—are a more effective machinery, than those of the constitutional states. The despotic countries of Europe—Austria, Prussia, Denmark, for instance, are actually in advance of the constitutionally governed —Britain, France, Belgium, in the means or machinery for diffusing education among the people. Where they err, is in doing too much for the promotion of education, manufactures, and commerce, and not leaving the plants to their natural growth, and not leaving the people to themselves—to their own social management—to their own natural tendency to extend the cultivation of them in exact proportion of their wants; but are incessantly applying the hand of government to foster the crop to a sickly maturity. As to religion, the Popish practically interferes less with the time and industry of the people, than the Presbyterian. One half of Sunday only is kept as a time of rest in Popish lands, and that not very strictly in agricultural labour; and in seed time, harvest, vintage, and hay-making, people in Catholic countries generally labour in the fields after mass, that is, after twelve at noon, nor is it considered indecorous to do so. Holydays, or Saints' days, are also practically observed only until the forenoon mass is over. Of these, before the French revolution, there were sixteen days in Paris yearly; but twenty-four

self saw of those Scotch cannibals; viz., that when they found herds of swine and cattle in the woods, they preferred a slice of the hips of the keepers, or the breasts of the female attendants on the herds, to the beef and pork, proves too much. People who keep flocks and herds of cattle and swine, and tend them in the woods, are not in the social condition to eat each other for want of food or of civilisation.

days on an average of all France, observed for half the day, viz., until noon, as church holydays. If we reckon the days at Christmas observed in England, the Good Friday, Easter Monday, Gunpowder Plot, Charles's martyrdom, King's birthday, and other idle customary festivals, we would probably find little difference. In Scotland, if we reckon the occasional fast-days proclaimed by the church; the preparation-days for the sacrament; and the many half-days devoted to religious meetings, prayer meetings, church meetings, missionary society meetings, Bible society meetings, and all the other social duties connected with the religious position and sentiments of the individual, it will be found, as it ought to be found, that out of the 365 days, the pious well-conducted Presbyterian tradesman, workman, or respectable middle-class man in Scotland, bestows, in the present times, many more working hours in the year upon religious concerns than the Papist in Italy. It is an inconsistency to ascribe to the loss of time by their religious observances, the poverty and idleness of the populations of the south of Europe, when we see the time abstracted among ourselves from the pursuits of industry for religious purposes, although little, if at all, less in amount, producing no such impoverishing or prejudicial effects; but, on the contrary, evidently invigorating the industry of the people, and contributing essentially to their morality and civilisation.

It is, in truth, neither the bad government, nor the bad religion of Italy, which keep her behind the other countries of Europe. The blessings of Italy are her curse. Fine soil and climate, and an almost equal abundance of production over all the land, render each man too independent of the industry of his fellow-men. Italy has not, like all other countries which have attained to any considerable and permanent state of general civilisation and industry, one portion of her population depending, from natural causes, upon another portion, for necessary articles—no highland and lowland, no inland and seacoast populations producing different necessaries of life, and exchanging with each other, industry for industry—no wine-growing population, and corn-growing population, as in France, depending upon each other's production—no mining population, seafaring population, manufacturing population, distinct from agricultural population and production. She has no natural division of her social body into growers and consumers, because every inhabitable corner of the peninsula grows almost the same kind of products, corn, wine, oil, silk, fruits; and every

consumer is a producer: and there is no natural capability in the country of raising an artificial division in its population by trade or manufacture. The great source of industry and civilisation in France, is the cultivation of the vine, and its natural exclusion from all the north of France. It is the greatest manufacture in the world. It not only gives within France itself a constant interchange of industry for industry, as the country north of Paris produces no wine; but all the north of Europe, all America, all the world where Christians dwell, consume wines of French production. Italy has not this advantage. With her equal, or nearly equal productiveness of soil and climate over all, both in the kinds and quantities of her products, no considerable masses of her population are depending on each other's industry for the supply of their mutual wants, and inseparably bound up with each other by common interests. Italy has no natural capabilities of raising up such a division in the masses of her population by manufacturing or commercial industry. There is little command of water-power, and none of fire-power, in the Italian peninsula for moving machinery. The Po, the Adige, the Tecino, and all the Alpine rivers; the Tiber, the Arno, and all from the Apennines, owing to the melting of the snow at their main sources, partake of the character of mountain-streams, having such difference of level at different seasons, that mill-seats on their banks, at which water-power can be always available, are extremely rare. The corn mills on those rivers are constructed on rafts or boats anchored in the stream, so as to rise and fall with the increase or decrease of the water. Italy also, notwithstanding her vast extent of sea coast, is badly situated for commercial industry, or supporting a seafaring population. She has little coasting trade, because all parts of her territory produce nearly the same articles in sufficient abundance for the inhabitants, and has little trade, for the same reason, with the other countries, on the Mediterranean. Her sea coast, also, is in general uninhabitable from malaria; so that no great mass of population deriving the means of living from commercial industry, and distinct from the inland population, can ever be formed. Cities and towns are, no doubt, numerous in Italy, and, perhaps, so many masses of population of from fifty or sixty thousand persons, down to two or three thousand, cannot be found any where else in Europe, within so small an area as in the plains of this peninsula. But these cities and towns are of a very peculiar character. The country is so fertile, that each of these masses of population

draws its subsistnce from, and extends its influence over, a very small circle beyond its own town walls. All capital, industry, intelligence, civil authority, and business, public or private; all trade, manufacture, or consumpt of the objects of trade and manufacture, and it may be said, all civilisation, are centralised within these cities, and the small circles of country around them from which they draw the articles of their consumpt. Italy is a striking example of the practical working in social economy, of the system of centralisation in towns or seats of provincial government, of the civil establishments, intelligence, and wealth of a country. Each city or town, within its own circle, suffices for itself, is a metayer family upon a great scale living upon its own farm, and having no dependence upon, or connexion with, the industry, interests, prosperity, or business of its neighbours in the land; and very little communication or traffic with any other masses of population, by carriers, waggons, carts, diligences, or water conveyances, the objects of interchange being, from the general bounty of nature, but very few between them. They are moral oases, beyond which, all is desert. Within them people are refined, intelligent, wealthy, imbued with a taste for the fine arts, and inspired with liberal ideas of the constitutional rights of the people, and national independence of their country; and without, the people belong to a different country, age, and state of civilisation, are ignorant, rude, poor, half-civilised, clothed in sheep-skins, or unscoured, brown, woollen cloaks, or are half-clothed, enjoying, in supreme indolence in the sunshine or the shade, a rough bellyful, without a care or wish for other gratifications or other social condition. The town populations and higher classes have sailed out of sight of the main body of the people. Our cities and towns are generally the growth of manufacturing or commercial industry, congregating men in gradually increasing masses of population which depend upon the country around, and, in our less productive soil and climate, upon a much greater circle of country around, for their supplies of food; but not for the means of buying food. Here, the town populations draw the means of buying, as well as what they buy, from the country, leaving on the land the cattle and the peasantry to reproduce next year their own food, and the incomes of the town populations. The princes, nobility, or other landholders, where the land is not, as in Tuscany, divided among the peasantry, the higher clergy, the military and civil establishments of government, local and general, with their armies of functionaries,

live in the towns and cities with the tradesmen who live by supplying them. The traffic between town and country is small, because there are no consumers in the country; its produce is consumed in the towns without any return. The interchange of industry between town and town is still less, for each population is a little state within itself, sufficing within its own circle for all its demands, and hampered, besides, with all sorts of impediments to communication, with passports, town duties, custom-house examinations, and formalities at the town gates. Italy is dotted over with these separate and distinct masses of population, forming, no whole of power, wealth, connected industry, common interests, objects, or feelings, and this state of disunion in the social economy of the Italian people is, I apprehend, the effect of natural, not of political causes. Nature having bestowed almost equally over all the inhabitable land of Italy all that man requires in a low, but not uncomfortable condition, neutralises by her very bounty the main element of social union—the dependence of men upon the interchange with each other of the products of their industry. Man is cemented to man by mutual wants. Social union, national spirit, interests, and industry exist only in masses of people living by each other. Identity of language, religion, laws, government, will not, as we see in Germany, amalgamate into one nation populations having no want of each other in their ordinary modes of existence, no dependence on each other for the necessaries or enjoyments of life. This disunion appears to have been in all ages the state of the groups of populations on the Italian peninsula. The power of the sword in the time of the Romans; the power of commercial capital in the middle ages; the power of the sword again in the days of Napoleon compressed Italy, or distinct portions of Italy, into national masses in form and government; but when the pressure was removed, the parts started asunder again; the cement was wanting which holds men together in effective national union; viz. their mutual wants, and the exchange of industry against industry, to supply mutual wants. They are a people living, each family for itself, in a remarkably unconnected social state, even in the same communities, and without need of, or confidence in each other; and, as communities, unimbued with any common feeling or spirit that can be called national. This has ever been so. The earliest period of Roman history shows Italy in the same state of social economy as at the present hour. The bounty of nature enables

man to live unconnected with man by ties of common interests and necessities, and exchanges of industry.

Besides this natural cause for the permanently stationary condition of the inhabitants of Italy, the means of the country, its time, labour, and capital have been deplorably wasted. If the influx of riches constitute national wealth, Italy should be the richest country in Europe, instead of one of the poorest. But the enormous capital which superstition in the middle ages, and down even to modern times, drew to Rome, the vast wealth which the commerce of the East brought, in the same ages, to Florence, Pisa, Genoa, Venice, have all been laid out unreproductively, and have not left a trace behind in the condition, well-being, or industry of the people. The vestiges of all these riches are to be seen only upon the face of the land in palaces, churches, and ornaments, not in the habits, ideas, or industry of the people. It has been reckoned that the churches of Italy, with their embellishments, their marbles, jewels, gold and silver ornaments, paintings and statuary, have cost more than the fee-simple of the whole land of the Italian peninsula would amount to, if sold at the present average price of land per acre. This enormous outlay of capital has been altogether unreproductive. If we look again at the vast and splendid palaces, with their ornamental architecture, their magnificent galleries of precious paintings, statues, fine marbles, and all the costly glory displayed, even now in their decay, in every second-rate town in Italy, but particularly in the capital cities, and those which have been independent commercial states, such as Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Venice, we can scarcely estimate the cost of the civil edifices of Italy, with their embellishments, at much less than that of the ecclesiastical. All this outlay of capital has been altogether unreproductive. We see in these expensive structures a sufficient cause to account for the downfall of the commercial prosperity of Genoa, Venice, and the other Italian states which once ruled the money-market, the trade, and industry of the world.

It may be necessary to explain more fully what is meant by reproductive and unreproductive expenditure in political economy. It appears, at first sight, a distinction without a difference, as applied to national wealth. The man who builds a church, or a palace, lays out his money in the payment of labour, as much as the man who builds a spinning mill, or a ship.

It is only a transfer of capital, in both cases, from those who buy labour to those who sell labour, and the capital, although it may be lost by the one individual, is gained by the other, and cannot be said to be sunk, or lost to the country, in the one application of it more than in the other. This is the view of many political economists: but it is not correct. Suppose two merchants build each a ship at the cost of 15,000*l*. The sum is paid to wood merchants, rope and sail makers, carpenters, riggers, and others, for labour, or material of which the value consists in the labour of producing and transporting it. At this step there is no loss of capital, but only an exchange of it between those who buy labour, or its products, and those who sell it. The nation or community gains by the circulation, as new objects, the two vessels, are produced by the labour. But suppose one of these vessels is kept well employed for a dozen years. She reproduces her cost, the 15,000*l*. This is capital laid out reproductively. It is laid out again and again, and employs and remunerates labour and industry from generation to generation. Suppose the other vessel is made an habitation of, laid up by the side of a canal, and converted into a Venetian palace. Her cost is unreproductive: it is capital sunk and lost as far as regards national wealth, and well-being, and employment of labour, having acted only once in the labour market, and having then been totally withdrawn from it. This has been precisely the case with an incalculable amount of capital, not only in Italy, but in the Hanse towns, in Flanders, in Holland, in all the old seats of European commerce and wealth. In visiting those ancient cities, which once were, in the trade of the world, what London, Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow, are now, the traveller sees that the besetting error of commercial wealth, in the ages and countries which preceded England and her rise, has been to overbuild and over-display itself in unreproductive objects, instead of retaining their capitals as working means, or capitals, in trade or manufactures. Wealth acquired in commerce, properly so called, that is, in the transport of products, natural or artificial, from one country to another, seems to have a tendency to expand itself unreproductively, to overstep its prudent limits and true interests, not only in private dwellings and gratifications, but even in works of undeniable utility, as in cutting and facing harbours and canals, building quays, piers, town walls, citadels, town houses, churches, and in our days in docks, warehouses, and railroads—all very useful works, but not always

useful in proportion to their cost, not always saving time and labour to an extent that will ever be reproductive of the capital invested in their construction. Wealth acquired by manufacturing industry seldom falls into this error. The value of convenience, time, and labour, is more exactly appreciated, and is rarely over-paid by those who have daily to estimate time, labour, and convenience in the economy of manufacturing operations. Of this unreproductive outlay of capital, the traveller sees less in Great Britain than in the poorest countries in Europe, and to this may be mainly ascribed her vast national wealth, her industrial activity, and her boundless working capital at the present day. In proportion to the wealth of the country, how few in Great Britain are the buildings of any note, public or private, civil, military, or ecclesiastical; how little is the absorption of capital in museums, pictures, gems, curiosities, palaces, theatres, or other unreproductive objects! This, which is the main foundation of the greatness of the country, is often stated by foreign travellers, and by some of our own periodical writers, as a proof of our inferiority. Time and money are not employed in works of the fine arts, either by individuals, or by the state, in the same proportion as in other countries—in France, Prussia, Bavaria, Italy—and are lightly esteemed by our public when so employed. Music, painting, architecture, sculpture, dancing, cooking, all the arts, fine or not fine, that address themselves only to the senses, or please only through the gratification of the senses, have but little hold of the public mind with us. It is one of the strongest characteristics of the British people, that all the sports and amusements of every rank and class must, to be popular, occupy the intellectual powers, the judgment of the individual. He will not sit and listen, or look, and be a mere passive recipient of pleasurable sensations or impressions. Hunting, shooting, horse-racing, boat-sailing, all amusements in which judgment is exercised, and individuality is called into play, should it be only in betting upon the most absurd objects, have so decided a preponderance in the national mind, that it is altogether a hopeless attempt to instil into our lower or middle classes any thing like the passive taste for music or painting that prevails in foreign countries. The museum, or concert-room, or opera, would always be deserted for the meeting, or club, or circle, whatever be its objects, religious, political, or convivial, in which the individual's own faculties or powers take a part. I cannot think this any

proof of a want of intellectuality in a people. Be it so or not, it is undeniable that in the character of the people of Britain, even of the higher classes, there is no feeling for the fine arts, no foundation for them, no esteem for them. A single town in Italy or Germany could produce more show-edifices, more costly palaces, museums, picture galleries, and music saloons, than half the island of Great Britain. The wealth of some of the smaller European states, as for instance of Bavaria, Saxony, Denmark, Sweden, and of all the little German principalities, has in modern times been almost entirely absorbed in building royal palaces, museums, theatres, and in lodging the nobility proportionably to their sovereigns. Royalty itself is poorly lodged in England in proportion to the wealth of the country, and to the palaces of many a little Continental prince; and the merchant in London or Liverpool, or the manufacturer in Manchester or Glasgow, lives in a modest cheap dwelling, compared to the vast magnificent palaces of the same classes in the middle ages, still to be seen in the old commercial cities of Italy and Flanders, and in the old Hanseatic cities all over the Continent, and which are literally the tombs of their commercial prosperity. In them are buried the means which would to this day have commanded the trade of the world, had these vast private capitals been still available by having been laid out reproductively in the industry-market, as the same class of capital has always been in England, instead of being buried in marble and mortar. In this English taste there is nothing to regret, nor is any want of intellectual employment in such a social existence to be justly complained of.

CHAPTER XXI.

NOTES ON MILAN. — COMO. — AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT.—LAGO MAGGIORE.—ISOLA BELLA.—THE ALPS.—ON THE SOCIAL STATE OF FRANCE, PRUSSIA, ITALY.

THE traveller tires of the plains of Lombardy in an hour. He has no extensive view of country in this garden of Europe. Every field is beset with rows of pollard mulberry trees, plucked bare of foliage for feeding the silk-worms. The fields are beautifully irrigated with clear water, carried in little ducts along them; and one or two such little fields, rows of pollards surrounding them, and the endless straight avenue from city to city, make very uninteresting scenery. It is flat, tame, and without the character of nationality, which gives an interest to the flat, tame scenery of Holland. The gay bustle of Milan, and the view of its duomo, with the forest of white marble pinnacles on the roof —the most beautiful roof-scenery in the world—will scarcely repay the traveller for the dull duty of approaching them though an endless tedious avenue of stiff trees, presenting, mile after mile, the same and the same.

Como is a pretty considerable town at the foot of the picturesque lake of the same name, a town of 12,000 or 15,000 inhabitants. The population of the neighbouring country consists almost entirely of the class of travelling pedlars who go out into the world to sell stucco figures, barometers, birdcages, and such small wares. They are often absent ten or twelve years from their families, and return with their little savings to buy a cottage, and a bit of land, at ten times what we would consider the value, on the side of their native lake. About 3000 of these travelling dealers from this district, are reckoned to be in or about London; and they often attain, what in this country at least is very considerable wealth. They are a very interesting class. As pedlars they have experience of the condition of the lower classes, and even of the middle class in many different countries, and are often shrewd observing men, well worth getting acquainted with. The traveller gathers from their conversation the practical difference between the well-intentioned, paternal government of the

mildest of autocratic states—Austria—and a government in which public opinion has its due influence through a constitutional means of expressing it. It cannot be doubted that it is with the best intentions, and from a supreme care for what is considered the public good, that the Austrian government holds the people in a state of moral vassalage, treats them as beings in a state of pupilage, not as free agents, and governs all things by the will and wisdom of a ruling few. The ruling few, however, cannot be wise in all things, are often duped by those below them in executive or administrative function, on whom they must depend for sound information, and are duped, too, by their own social position, by the *esprit* of functionarism, the *esprit des bureaux*, which is so apt to mistake the perfection of the means for the perfection of the end in public affairs. They have no wish to legislate wrong, but they legislate on guess, not upon knowledge. The ruling class are too far removed from the ordinary business and interest of the multitude working below them, to understand personally the business of that multitude; and are bred in a circle of ideas widely different from that of the classes for whom they legislate. They necessarily depend for their ideas and opinions upon the army of civil functionaries with whom alone they can communicate. These must appear to have something to do for their bread, and their bread perhaps depends in part on fees, fines, and douceurs. Hence the miserable policy of the Austrian, and all the other despotic states, of interfering in, managing, and watching over all private industry or enterprise, and trade or individual action. The shop, the dwelling, the bed even of the trader, here in Austrian Italy, are exposed to vexatious examinations at the will of the local douanier—a half military German animal. The market cart going into a town with hay is probed with an iron rod at the town gate, in case it should be conveying goods subject to duty. The gig, or country vehicle with market people is stopped and searched. The simple undertaking of running a Diligence *daily* from Milan to Como, and back, a distance of twenty miles, was considered too important a concern to be left to individual enterprise; and was taken possession of as a branch of public business, which it belonged to government functionaries only to carry on. It is with extreme difficulty the petty trader can get passports from the Austrian authorities, to travel on his needful affairs. Securities must be given, and the causes of his going explained, even when his military or other public duties are accomplished, or fully provided for, and his station in life too

low, to make him an object of political suspicion. One of the travelling pedlars of this country, who had been for many years in America and was returning from a visit to his friends at Como, travelled with me by the Voiturin to Switzerland. He made the emphatic observation, when we had got beyond the Austrian frontier, in speaking of the trammels on all industry and individual freedom, "That it was better to be dead in America than alive in Italy."

The lake of Como, skirted all round by steep hills, with scarcely room for a carriage road, and a villa parterre between the hill and the water, has not the variety of scenery, nor perhaps the grandeur of the Swiss lakes. The scenery of the Lago Maggiore is more open and diversified. Pebbly beaches here and there between the rocky headlands, relieve the monotony of rock and water. The shores of this lake are watched and patroled day and night, by the sentinels and guards of the douane, as vigilantly as if an invading enemy were in force on the other shore. At Arona, a huge enormity in copper, the colossal statue of Saint Charles of Borromeo, is the wonder—not, I presume, the admiration of all travellers. It is said to be 80 feet high, and the head in size, and merit as a work of art, is about equal to the wooden house of a small windmill. In the same taste, and a monument of the same senseless expenditure of the same family, is the Borromean Isle in the Lago Maggiore—the Isola Bella, It is as bella as a little rocky islet in a lake can be, covered entirely with parterres, and flower-pots, and grotto work, shell work, moss work, statuary work, and such gewgaws, with a French chateau to correspond. The isle so decked out amidst scenery of a totally different character, looks like an old court lady arrayed in silks, lace, and diamonds, a hooped petticoat, and white satin shoes, left by some mischance, squatting down all alone upon a rock in the midst of a Highland loch. The thing is neither pretty nor in place; but it has its value, too, in contrast. It is but a day's journey from this wretched monument of bad taste, to some of the grandest scenes in Europe. The traveller, however, in crossing the Simplon, misses almost all the sublime impressions he expects. The highest elevation of the road across it, from Domo d'Ossolo on the Italian side, to Brigg in the Valois, is about 4,500 feet; and although at this elevation there are avalanches, snows, glaciers, winding roads with cataracts and precipices below, and clouds and blue sky above, and all the other romance-furniture of Alpine scenery, yet, if truth may be told, the hills of two or

three thousand feet of elevation in our northern latitude and climate are far more imposing on the human mind, far more sublime. The positive elevation to which you have been climbing up perhaps from the pier of Bologne, or the quay of Naples, or the Lido of Venice, enters not into the mind through the senses, but only on consideration, and as a cold mathematical truth. What strikes the mind on great mountain elevations is the sublime, almost terrific silence, suspension, death of nature, the lonely sterility, the absence of all animal or vegetable life, the reduction of all created objects to rock and cloud. This is felt in our northern latitude on hills of 2000 feet, more impressively than in this climate at 4000 feet of elevation. The tree grows, the bird sings at the very edge of the perpetual snow here more vigorously than on many a northern sea-side plain.

In passing through France, Prussia, Italy, the traveller returns daily to the question, How do the political institutions, the laws, mode of government, and national education of those countries act upon the social condition of the people? To ascertain, or at least to approximate to a just estimate of these influences in different parts of Europe, is the object of the preceding Notes. Will the reader concur in the following inferences from them?

The object of the governments of those countries must be the same as that of our own government—the advantage and well-being of the governed. The difference must be in the means used, not in the end proposed.

But good legislation, which is the means used both by the despotic and liberal government for advancing the well-being of the people, is not confined to, or a necessary consequence of legislative power being vested in the representatives of the people. We have in Britain, both in our civil and criminal code, laws more absurd, unjust, and prejudicial to the interests and well-being of the governed than the modern laws of any country in Europe; for instance, our game laws, our excise laws, our poor laws, our corn laws, and other laws and classes of laws of even recent enactment, or recently revived. In the autocratic states, Prussia and Austria, in which the legislative power is solely in the executive, there are few subjects of legislation in which the executive has any interest at variance with, or different from that of the people, or any favourable feeling towards

impolitic, oppressive, or unequal laws. On all that concerns private property, on all questions between man and man, on all acts injurious to the public, on all civil, criminal, and police affairs, it is the interest of the despotic as much as of the free state to legislate aright. It is also, theoretically considered, more in the power of the despotic state to do so—unpleasant as this truth may sound in ears radical—than of the liberally constituted or free state; because the persons appointed by the executive to consult together, consider, frame and draw out the law, are, theoretically, men bred to legislative science, who endeavour to become acquainted with the wants and business of the country, have no personal interests in faulty legislation, and although liable to be misinformed by the functionaries around them, are unimpeded by ignorant, incompetent fellow-legislators, as in a popularly elected parliament, or legislative assembly. There is, *theoretically*, no reason, in short, in the nature of despotism or autocratic government itself, as existing in modern enlightened times, why it should not legislate as beneficially for the social condition of a people as a freely chosen representative legislature; and there can be no doubt, that the Austrian and Prussian autocrats in the beneficent paternal government which they affect, do sincerely endeavour to exercise their legislative power, before God and man, for the well-being of their people.

The administration of law also, as well as the enactment, may be, and practically is, more effective and perfect, both in the civil and criminal courts, in the despotic than in the free states. The nature of despotic government admits of, and produces a chain of precise, almost military arrangements for inspection, reference, check, and responsibility running through the whole exercise of judicial function, from the lowest court to the highest. These autocratically ruled countries are generally divided into small circles, each with its court, its judge, its public prosecutor, its licensed procurators or advocates; and their proceedings are regularly reported to and watched over by higher judicial colleges who have superintendence over a group of these lower primary courts, and in some countries, as in Denmark, take cognizance of every case and decision of the inferior court, whether appealed from by the parties or not, revise their whole protocols, and even check undue delay in giving judgment, or undue charges of the procurators; and are themselves subject to similar regular inspection and surveillance in the discharge of these duties, by still higher judicial colleges in the state. In the despotic states

of modern Europe, the judicial power is thus more immediately, and for the people more readily and cheaply applied, and by a machinery more perfect, more divested of personal causes of error in judgment from political party feelings, prejudices, or interests, and more carefully watched over and checked, than in our own social economy in Britain. England and Scotland are, perhaps, the only two countries in Europe, which have not in the course of the present half-century reconstructed their old imperfect or feudal arrangements for the administration of law to the people, and have not remodelled their law courts to suit the business of the age.

In what then in modern times, if it be neither in the enactment nor in the administration of law, in what consists the difference between free and despotic, liberal and anti-liberal government, as far as regards practically the social condition, and the moral and physical well-being of a people? The difference lies in this:—

Man, in his social state, is not intended by his Creator to be only a passive subject of wise and good government, be it ever so wise and good, but to attain the higher moral condition of wisely and well governing himself, not only in his private moral capacity as an individual, but in his social, political capacity as one of the members of a community. Morality and religion direct him in his private capacity; but if he is debarred by the arbitrary institutions of his government from exercising the other half of his social duties, he is, morally considered, but half a man, is answering but half the end for which man is sent into this world as a social being; is fulfilling but half the duties given him to be fulfilled by his Creator—for man is created a political as well as a moral being; has a political as well as a moral existence. A people governed by laws, in the enactment of which they have no voice, and by functionaries independent of public opinion, are in a low social and political, and, consequently, in a low moral condition, however suitable and excellent the law itself, and its administration may be. They are morally slaves. The Prussian, the Austrian, the Neapolitan, the Papal subjects stand equally upon this low moral level. The Prussian, the Austrian, and Tuscan do, no doubt, enjoy the advantage of many good laws and good institutions, but they do not enjoy the advantage of having made them—a moral advantage as great as the material advantage of having the benefit of them. If the public mind is not exercised and

nourished in the considering, enacting, and executing for itself, the good legislation the public enjoys, public spirit, patriotism, and in private life, as individuals, the spirit of free agency in moral conduct, and the sense of moral responsibility are quenched under the all-doing, paternal management of the autocrat for his people, as much as under a harder despotism. His mildness and beneficence reach only their physical, not their moral good. They are in a state of mental vassalage as moral and social beings, in a state of pupilage, not of free agency, whatever be their education, or their physical condition as to food and the comforts of life. The enjoyments and character of an animal people are all that men attain to under these paternal autocratic governments, with perhaps the development, in the town-populations, of taste and feeling for the fine arts, and a certain polish and amenity of manners. These are not to be under-valued, but are very agreeable accomplishments to live with, and are closely connected with many social virtues. But however delightful to live with, and however important in reality to the comfort and happiness of social life, and to the formation of civilised habits and character among a people, these are not the highest acquirements for man in a social state to attain. We attach too great importance to these superficial although intellectual and moral acquirements, in estimating the education of an individual, or of a nation. National education, as it is called, turns in all these paternal autocratic governments which will not leave the people to the education of their own free agency as moral beings united in society, principally upon the development of these tastes, manners, and feelings. If eating, drinking, lodging, and living well, for very little outlay of industry, exertion, or bodily labour, and still less of mental, and along with these the enjoyment, through the eye and ear, of all the pleasures that a cultivated, educated taste in the fine arts affords, if physical good with this kind of intellectual culture or development be the great end to be attained by man in society, these autocratic governments are rapidly carrying their people to a higher social condition than that of the people of Britain.

But if the moral and social duties of man, as a member of the human family, demand something more than his own animal enjoyment, physical well-being, and personal gratification, even in the intellectual exercise of his taste and feeling—if his true position in life be that in which his moral and intellectual nature can be fully and freely developed in the exercise of his

capabilities, duties, and rights, as a thinking responsible free agent —and his true education, that which fits him for this position— then are these autocratic governments and their subjects in a low social position—one far beneath that of the British—and their systems of national education are not adapted to the great moral end of human existence, but merely to support their governments. If we fairly consider the social condition of the Continental man of whatever class, whatever position, or whatever country, Neapolitan, or Austrian, or Prussian, we find him, body and soul, a slave. His going out and coming in, his personal bodily and mental action in the use of his property, in the exercise of his industry and talents, in his education, his religion, his laws, his doings, thinkings, readings, talkings in public or private affairs, are fitted on to him by his master, the state, like clothing on a convict, and in these alone can he move, or execute any act of social existence. He has no individual existence socially or morally, for he has no individual free agency. His education fits him for this state of pupilage, but not for independent action as a reflecting self-guiding being, sensible of, and daily exercising his social, political, moral, and religious rights and duties as a free agent. In his position relatively to these rights and duties, the Continental man stands on a level very far below that of the individual of our country in a corresponding class of society. With all the ignorance and vice imputed to our lower classes, they are, in true and efficient education, as members of society acting for themselves in their rights and duties, and under guidance of their own judgment, moral sense, and conscience, in a far higher intellectual, moral, and religious condition than the educated slaves of the Continent. This is the conclusion, in social economy, which the author of the preceding Notes has come to, and which the reader is requested to consider.

THE END.

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